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An Integration of Discord:

**How National Identity Conceptions Activate
Resistance to EU Integration in the Popular Press
Discourses of Poland, Spain and Great Britain.**

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by

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Abstract

The EU has widened and deepened the single market over time according to a transactionalist discourse of common-interests in integration. This rationale holds that as amounts of cross-border movement increase, Member State populations should perceive the single market as beneficial, thus leading to the creation of an affective European identity. Instead, as consequences of integration have become more visible, resistance to the EU has become more pronounced, especially with relation to the Union's right of free movement of persons. This thesis argues that interest-based theories of integration ignore prospects for resilient national identities to influence the accordance of solidarity ties, so as to color interest perceptions within national public spheres. Combining the literature on European identity, moral panic and communication studies on news framing, it maintains that the popular news media provide a conduit through which these interest perceptions can be taken up through the tendency of news outlets to report events that deviantly threaten underlying identity conceptions. Through content analysis of 'popular' press in the UK, Spain and Poland, it seeks to show how the inane tendency of news to report events in terms of an identity-based narrative can serve to foment moral panic within national publics. Contrary to interest based theories of integration, the EU's discourse clashes with national identity. Disintegration may be posited as the 'proper stance' to be supported on the part of the public in news narrative, if threatening deviance caused by EU migration is to be resolved.

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One:

Introduction

From Eastern Expansion to 'Brexit': The EU fifteen years after Framing Europe

In 2003 the publication of Juan Diez Medrano's book, *Framing Europe*, put forth a contention calling into question the rationale of European integration as based in mutual interest of the Member States and their publics. Working empirically with sources including quality press, the work traced the framing of debates on Europe as the EEC and then the EU expanded, finding that Europe was often perceived in the first instance through the lens of national cultural identity. Viewing the state of European integration 15 years later, this conclusion provides an interesting point of departure for the understanding of how implementation of the single market and its right of free movement of persons has served to foment a more recent rise in resistance to EU integration. *Framing Europe* pointed at least partially to the creation of an incipient identity-based acceptance of the EU. However, the Union of 2017 would be barely recognizable to one viewing it from the turn of the millennium. Indeed, since the early 2000's the shape and nature of the EU and its national constituencies have changed dramatically through three Eastern Expansions, continued deepening of the single market and crisis of the Eurozone. Amid this, some literature has been devoted to the prospects for the creation of a European solidaristic identity, in context of the Euro crisis (Bulmer, 2014; Kuhn and Stoeckel, 2014; Risse, 2014; Statham and Trenz, 2014). However this, by itself, cannot explain EU-resistant developments in Member States that are both inside and outside of the EMU. Concurrently, amounts of intra-EU migration have grown dramatically as have populist resistances to integration, often centering on the movement of EU citizens. The United Kingdom has voted to leave the EU in a referendum,

which is contended by many to be a de-facto referendum on migration.¹ Populist movements are an increasingly prominent presence in the EU's newer members, such as the Visegrad states, which often point to the character of free movement of persons as indicative of an exploitive character of EU integration.

It is true that migration-grounded resistance to integration remains more pronounced in some Member States rather than others. Yet, as we shall see, this overall rise in EU-resistant discourse comes as the EU institutions continue to tout the free movement of persons as a net win-win, and common right of all EU citizens (Recchi, 2015). Economic data shows that it at least does not result in actual economic woe for migrant sending or receiving states (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009; Kahanec et al., 2009; Barrell et al., 2010). Medrano's 2003 book did point to a public, identity-based rationale regarding European integration. But, neither it, nor the subsequent Eurozone-focused literature, accounts for the more recent rise in reticence regarding it: How is the EU right of free movement of persons serving as a cause of resistance to EU integration?

Main argument and aims of the research

If resistance flows from a disjuncture between EU-level interest-based rationales for integration and identity-based conceptions of Member State publics, a better understanding of how and where these two discourses come to clash in a problematic manner is needed. As a result, this thesis seeks to add to the existing literature by arguing that the relationship between identity conception and interest perception merits further unpacking, beyond the mere existence of a break regarding the sources of claims made in supranational and national levels of discourse.

¹ On this point it is worthy to note that the post-'Brexit' debate in the United Kingdom had focused on not whether the UK will leave. But, whether Britain's departure will assume a 'hard' or soft' character.

It aims to provide further investigation into the discourses that are more likely to regard the EU negatively across the increasingly diverse national landscapes of the Union and suggest some insights as to why this may be the case.

By problematizing the more recent rise in populist-style resistance toward the market-making activities of the EU, in relation to its right of free movement of persons, I argue that a clash results from the EU's supranational discourse -- one of interest-based appeals for an economic solidarity of opportunity in a single market -- and state-demarcated national identity-based perceptions of those who resultantly see themselves to be suffering a net-loss as a result of the integration process. Thus, this research suggests that interest-based appeals to a supranational patriotic level lack relevance, credibility or even legitimacy due to ties of social solidarity that national identity continues to accord on the state level, thus affecting interest perception. In light of the increased visibility of EU migration, I advance a framework by which nationalist identity-based interests can be accessed within the public sphere. They are picked up and reinforced through the portrayal of certain events in mass-mediated narrative as deviant from related normative conceptions. I argue that these narratives are likely to resonate with their perceived audience as threatening. Thereby, national demarcation of identity is re-entrenched in national popular discourses on perceived consequences of single market integration.

Qualifying recent resistance to integration: What is anti-Europe?

The EU integration process, as we know it today, finds its origins in the treaty-based, top-down market-making activities of the EU institutions, beginning over half a century ago. However, it is only relatively recently that increasingly widespread skepticism of Member State publics regarding the process has been in evidence, such that the market-making activities of the EU

have come to find themselves in a situation of 'constraining dissensus' as perceived consequences of integration have grown more visible (Hooghe and Marks, 2009). One aspect of these activities, which has been especially noticeable amid other aspects of integration, is increased intra-Union migration as resultant from the right of free movement of persons, especially in context of the Eastern Expansions. This does not point to a waning affective commitment to Europeanization in national publics. Instead, as signs of the integration process become more visible, an official EU rationale of market-based solidarity, based on common interests in integration, is brought to clash with increased identity-based resistance resultant from perceived national consequences of the market-making process.

Amid the increased visibility of the implementation of EU integrative policy, attention has been paid to defining forms of popular reticence regarding European integration insofar as how the public opinion regarding it may interface with Member State governments through the proxy of political parties. Szczerbiak and Taggart conceptualize the idea of Euroskepticism by breaking the phenomena into two 'hard' and 'soft' dimensions (2002). However, this 'hard'-'soft' framework does not make sufficient distinction between support for 'Europe' and support for the EU, whether it be in some or any form, in order to allow for analysis of the relationship between wariness regarding EU market-making and changes in perception regarding integration as the freedom of movement became more institutionalized. Here, Kopecky and Mudde clarify through their typology of resistance regarding the Europeanization process by defining a third category that may, in some cases, constitute negative perceptions of integration: Europragmatism. This realist, interest-justified paradigm concedes the necessity of involvement with the EU amidst negative views of the principle of European integration, and thus the ideals behind free movement in general. However, this logic still assumes the primacy of interests in determining

support for integration; it is easy to see how someone of a Europragmatic persuasion could come to support a more outright Euroskeptic stance if that person's perceptions of the costs/benefits of the free movement of persons did not align favorably with the costs/benefits of integration in terms of national interest perception.

The above literature, which mostly regards political parties, remains useful insofar as it seeks to aggregate certain sources of the conflict between liberal de-nationalization and state-based demarcation of barriers implicit in anti-EU public opinion. However, they remain narrow; through simply problematizing any sentiment contrary to 'Europe' or the EU in general, said typologies run the risk of generalizing even a healthy scrutiny of EU policy into the realm of anti-European sentiment by labeling it as 'Euroskeptic' or with a similar term. Further, their focus on rather rigid, 'Euroskeptical' typologies of parties remains confined in the ability to capture nuanced public sentiments, such as intervening factors related to the possibility for political leaders to pander to certain public sentiments in order to garner the support of groups in the electorate and/or the nature of media coverage of events within the press (Gabel and Scheve, 2007). If the origins of negative opinions generally regarding European integration result from nationally based public wariness regarding the loosening of state-level regulatory protections, there may be opportunity for the positions of public opinion and stances of national political elites to influence one another in an inter-constitutive manner without being completely the same (Steenbergen, Edwards and De Vries, 2007). Yet, this does not address the actual mechanisms at work between those levels, which lead to reticence regarding integration. In a step toward resolving this ambiguity, Crespy and Verschueren stress the need for the adoption of a broader historical perspective. In doing so, they mention that the above party-based frameworks arose out of debates specific to the late 1980's and thus prove difficult to operationalize over different

situational and temporal contexts (2009). Therefore, the use of a more generalizable 'resistance' to certain manifestations of the integration process allows one to understand the phenomenon as a process existing in varying forms and differing levels of governance.

In connection with this, the rise of nationalist EU resistance in populist sentiment has been noted as championing the cause of those who feel that they stand to lose from mobility in integration (Dolezal and Hutter, 2012; Kriesi, 2014). Though Kriesi et.al have argued that this integration-demarcation cleavage has both cultural and socio-economic dimensions which tend to be emphasized according to the right-left political spectrum, they do not adequately address the sources of why one would conceive of his or her nation as being on the losing side with relation to free movement (2006; 2008). Further, the contention that such rightist populism would evolve along traditional ideological lines does not account for the rise of more recent populist movements, which while often tending toward the right side of the aisle generally, do not adhere to only one side of the right-left political spectrum in a completely coherent manner (Ucen, 2007). Both such developments are significant as they reflect the existence of a "clear representation opening" for growing populist parties to exploit and through which dissatisfaction with perceived consequences of integration can be voiced as publics move increasingly away from the traditional establishment (Rohrschneider and Whitefield, 2015, 21). Therefore, as I shall argue in chapter three, a focus on what I term as 'popular' discourse represents a means by which to access the character of resistance to EU integration in context of the free movement of persons through its focus on the building of a national commonality in disillusionment with regard to a perceived "outside" (Laclau, 2005; Staheli, 2013, 9). Still, it has little to say regarding the sources of the 'losers' of de-nationalization's perceptions regarding their interests. What is needed is a further development of the inter-linkages between national identity conception and interest

perception. As this thesis will maintain, EU-level discourse bases a call for market-based solidarity on a rationale of common interests in a single market (see chapter two). However, as will be advanced in chapter three, it is the enduring national identity of those who believe that they stand to lose from further integration that leads the EU narrative of interests-in-integration to clash with national identity conceptions in which popular discourse is rooted.

Popular press: The point of narrative access

As mentioned above, in order to focus on the relevant popular discourse, this thesis contributes empirically to the academe through analysis focused on the collection and qualitative categorization of articles in the online archives of major tabloid-style or free news outlets. Focusing on these types of 'low quality' press allows for better targeting of the analysis to the relevant discourse, or where that discourse would be extant, due to the tendency of their reporting to emphasize simplification of complex events or issues. Thus, they provide a narrative 'reality' for the news consumer which is readily understandable; populist-style discourses often are based in such simplified appeals (Wodak, 2015). Articles were collected from appropriate sources in three large countries with different relations to the single market for persons: Poland, a migrant sending country, UK, a migrant receiving country and Spain, which has seen both in and out flows of persons in the post-Eastern Expansion environment. As a result, while allowing for the fact that the character of both EU resistance and nation-state identity may differ in nature and strength across cases, this remains mainly a study targeted on resistance to the EU in popular press discourse. Across cases, papers to be examined were selected such that they can be said to play a role of functional equivalence in that they could be said to speak to similar groups as can reasonably be expected in their respective public spheres. They are as follows: Metro and Fakt in

Poland, the Daily Mail and the Sun in UK, 20 Minutos and La Razón in Spain (see chapter five).²

Briefly, with relation to the free movement of persons, results suggested that in Poland and UK, the countries with more rigidly exclusive identity conceptions, such a clash was indeed more visible. In Spain however, clash between national identity-based interest perceptions and the EU discourse was relatively less apparent. However, this did not seem to be due to an interest-based acceptance of affection to Europe in the Iberian country. It may be that the more fragmented, sub-national nature of Spanish identity makes it already more receptive to the supranational discourse in the first place.

Brief overview of the thesis and contributions to the discipline

In order to arrive at the above findings, I begin in chapter two by tracing the development of the broadening and deepening of the EU single market over time, as well as resistance to it. In doing so, I argue that the EU institutions have justified the integration of the single market for persons through a transactionalist discourse of common net-benefit derived from interaction in movement. As amounts of intra-EU migration have increased, so have instances of resistance to

² The functional equivalence of the news outlets was determined not only to the editorial line or distribution schemes of the papers, but also is influenced according to differences in the three national media markets and the journalistic cultures of the case study countries. All sources can be said to be major lower quality publications in both their online and printed forms, directed at consumers on the center to the right of the political spectrum, and thus more likely to resort to populist appeal in their reports. In the UK the Sun and the Daily Mail are clearly two major outlets that conform to a conservative line within the English and Welsh legal environment. However, while Super Express, Poland's only other national tabloid besides Fakt, may ideally stand in closer equivalence with the others, it does not archive its articles. In Spain, while ABC might be said to take a more conservative editorial stance, it still remains better thought of as quality press; other national papers either do not have the necessary editorial stance or are targeted to one of Spain's regions. Therefore, the inclusion of two free publications, which necessarily attempt to simplify accounts and appeal to the 'lowest common denominator' in Spain and Poland can be said to act as appropriate stand-ins, along with Fakt and La Razon, due to a lesser tradition of journalistic objectivity in these countries and permissiveness regarding openly opinionated or partisan reporting (Dalen, De Vreese and Albaek, 2011; Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012).

further integration, which come to clash with the EU's discourse. In chapter three, I conceptualize the clash as resulting from the national identity-based manner in which non-mobile citizens continue to conceive of their identities. These identity conceptions influence the perception of interests such that benefit is not perceived from EU integration, or its right of free movement of persons. The popular news media serves as a conduit through which these identity-based interest perceptions can be taken up and reinforced within national public spheres. I maintain that this is accomplished through a Crisis-Conflict-Resolution narrative framework, common to all news reports and structured to the five W's and one H storytelling components -- Who, What, When, Where, Why and How. Chapter four elaborates methodological aspects of the study. In order to generalize across differing conceptions of nationalism in various countries, I hypothesize that the EU discourse/national identity clash may be less evident in countries where what constitutes 'the nation' remains somewhat normally contested. This is used to justify the selection of the three case study countries -- Poland, the UK and Spain -- which have differing relations to the single market, as well as varied national landscapes and governance structures. I then spell out practical aspects of the manner in which the content analysis was done. Finally I give a brief overview of the findings, which present preliminary support for this thesis's main argument. In chapters five through seven, I present the empirical analysis, structured according to the CCR framework. Findings indicate that evidence for regarding resistance to EU integration as resultant from a clash between the EU's interest-based discourse and national identity conceptions may be more visible in Poland and Britain. Popular EU-resistant discourse may be less apparent in Spain. However, I will argue that this is due to the contestable nature of Spanish national identity, which continues to influence the perceived interests.

Thus, the main contributions that this research presents are three-fold: First, by qualifying a rise in recent EU-resistant discourse as present mainly in popular discourse regarding the free movement of persons as a part of integration, I define a relevant point within national societies at which EU discourse regarding interest-based, affective solidarity in a single market can clash with sentiments in national publics. Theoretically, while debates regarding barriers to EU integration have focused largely on an interest-versus-identity divide, I take each as constructed, providing an important starting point from which inter-linkages among them can be further defined in order to more clearly theorize what is clashing with the EU discourse. Drawing on the literature related to the creation of moral panics and from journalistic studies, this thesis suggests how news narrative structures can be used to reinforce identity-based interest perceptions through narratives within relevant discourses across contexts in countries with different relations to the EU single market. Empirically, whereas many studies focus on quality press, it takes news outlets which are likely to target their content such that it resonates with interests of nationally rooted identities as the point within the public sphere at which this popular, nationalist discourse can be accessed. Through doing so, it argues that as the discourse/identity clash becomes activated, resistance to integration may be suggested as a 'proper stance' if the perceived deviance of the EU project is to be resolved in the perceived interest of a given national 'in-group'.

Two: State of the Art

Introduction: Origins of the EU Supranational Discourse and resistance to EU integration

For most of the past four centuries Europe has existed as an agglomeration of Westphalian nation-states. This concept of organization carries with it a normalized notion that sovereign national governments exist, at least in part, to protect the populace of their state, while serving to provide prosperity. Closely connected with the entrenchment of completely state-based governance is the perception of normative goodness of a state's control over national boundaries on the part of its citizens. However, over the past 60 years the rise of supranational integration in the form of the European Economic Community, and later the European Union, has called into question the exclusivity of the nation-state as the prime level of demarcation of economic and political barriers. Amid this context, national governments have acceded to the supranational integration process and thus removed barriers to the free movement and employment of persons. Increasingly, this occurred as national publics sought to maintain state power by resisting the growing competencies of European institutions. Thus, as supranational integration measures became implemented over time, public wariness towards the EU project on the national level has become more pronounced, though in some countries more than others. This especially becomes the case when viewed through the lens of national perceptions regarding consequences of the

right of free movement of persons as a part of integration, despite the veracity of an EU discourse regarding common benefits in integration.

In what follows, I examine the literature related to the growth of the right of free movement of persons, and the supranational, interest-based discourse used to justify it, in order to more clearly define and contextualize what is being resisted against. This is done according to three sections. The first traces the historical development of the common market with regard to the origins of the right of free movement in the European treaties, such that the rationale behind it could serve to evolve into a supranational discourse of solidarity creation through positive, mutual benefit provision in a common market -- one that could stand to challenge negative perceptions of the breakdown of state-based barriers. The second examines the political implications of supranational policy implementation in the post-Maastricht environment in activating increased public weariness toward the lifting of national boundaries on access to markets within national spheres of debate and according to conceptions of national identity. This has occurred despite the presence of the EU interest-based discourse. The third section analyses evidence for whether the post-2004 increased mobility of persons has resulted in a greater public focus on intra-EU migration as a part of an increased identity-based politicization of European issues within national medias and public spheres. The salience of the EU discourse to these mediated debates is also addressed. A need is indicated for further investigation into how the EU rationale for integration of the single market remains at odds with increasingly negative public perceptions of it. This is especially true as signs of the institutionalization of the single market for persons became more expansive, and thus, more visible.

Institutionalization of EU Discourse in the Common Market: From Interests to Identity

In order to understand the rationale behind the EU's justificatory discourse regarding why the expansion of the free movement of labor, and later, of persons has grown, it is necessary to contextualize the origins and development of it in relation to the larger process of European integration. Connected with the expansion of the common market, and thus the rationale of free movement, is the supranational contention that the lifting of pre-existing, state-oriented barriers is in the common interest of EU citizens. Below, I discuss the interest-based origins of the rights of free movement of persons, as well as the discourse justifying their growth as part of a larger process of integration.

Reasons behind initial inclusion of labor movement in the 1951 Treaty of Paris

Although the right of free movement of labor became more comprehensive after the signing of the treaty of Maastricht, said right carries broader historical origins. In fact, the longer legacy of freedom of movement began as a relatively minor provision in the treaty that created the European Coal and Steel Community (Maas, 2005). The original clause, article 69, guaranteed the free movement of qualified workers in those industries and was originally included for reasons of mutual benefit: to induce the Italian delegation to enter the community as it would allow them to export their surplus of workers, while other countries were experiencing shortage. (Treaty of Paris, 1951; Maas, 2005). Thus it was included in the precursor to the Treaty of Rome based on an incipient rationale of common interests in taking integrative action. As paragraph 3 of article 69 justifies:

... where an expansion of production in the coal and steel industries might be hampered by a shortage of qualified labor, they[the Member States] will adapt their immigration regulations to the extent necessary to eliminate that situation; in particular, they will facilitate the reemployment of workers from the coal and steel industries of other member States.

The actual implementation of this provision was delayed due to national disagreement over the scope of its eventually limited application. However, it becomes apparent that the inclusion of this provision was initially based on a rationale of common concrete interests in allowing for free movement.³ This common interest-oriented article was used as the basis for the expansion of free movement of labor for purposes of economic activity; "the experience of negotiating the ECSC provisions laid the groundwork for the Treaty of Rome's free movement provisions" (Maas, 2005, 1020). Thus, the EU interest-based discourse remains connected to a longer historical legacy. This discourse's beginnings influenced its development and allowed it to grow over time into a justificatory component of a broader, increasingly popularly contested, process of EU integration.

Most early steps toward European integration such as the ECSC appeared to be mainly economic in nature. But, the stated impetus for the Treaty of Paris was firmly grounded in interest-based motivations that argued for the resultant creation of a commonality between the peoples of Europe, rather than only in economic imperatives. In the aftermath of World War II, a prevailing belief existed among western European leaders that integration was necessary in order to make war between European countries all but impossible (Willis, 1978). War obviously retards economic growth of the region in which it is fought. Still, an anti-war ideology is, by itself, insufficient for understanding the initial including of free movement as being in the common interests of Europeans. Additionally, the presence of interest-based political motives originally focused mostly on economic integration of heavy industry in order to make possible

³ Indeed, in the preamble to the Treaty of Paris, the signatories state that they are creating the ECSC, due to a consciousness "that Europe can be built only by concrete actions which create a real solidarity and by the establishment of common bases for economic development." The discourse of common benefits in interaction in the common market was therefore implicitly present already at the first treaty-based inclusion of free movement.

normative aims of peaceful relations between a 'European' people who were considered to have a "common future destiny" (Treaty of Paris, 1951, preamble.) European leaders identified market integration of the steel and coal industries as the first rational step to creating more identity-based commonality (Willis, 1978). Indeed, "Any discussion of...the historical origins of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) must therefore begin by stressing this political aspect, yet without neglecting the underlying economic interests" (Petzina, Stolper and Hudson, 1981, 450).

As alluded to above, this rationale of creation of common recognition among individuals of Member States through fulfillment of mutual interests also explains the urge to integrate economies that were not overly similar insofar as their labor markets, due to a need for skilled workers in some of the acceding states at that point in time (Willis, 1978; Maas, 2005). The expectation that there would be worker 'sending' and worker 'receiving' countries was present at the first treaty-based inclusion of a right of free movement of persons. The institutionalization of the ECSC began a process of integration of industry-specific skilled labor markets in the original six Member States, based on an incipient rationale to the effect that common identity formation could be reached in part through mutual benefit in migration. As will be argued, over time, it came to evolve into a supranational discourse justifying that right's expansion, so as to become virtually indistinguishable from a comprehensive right of free movement of persons in a single market.

Entrenching the justification behind the character of common market integration

As noted above, dissonance in labor market characteristics leading up to the Treaty of Paris's signing can be seen in the initial inclusion of free labor movement in said agreement. The

demand originated mainly from common concrete interest. Italy's glut of workers in the coal mining industry resulted in a situation in which "the economic desire to acquire raw materials cheaply also figured, [but] the principal incentive for Italian participation in the Schuman plan was 'to permit export of its surplus labor'" (Mason in Maas, 2005, 1012). Today, this may seem ironic, given views of the free movement-related migration of persons in EU-resistant public discourses. Still, it should be noted that this created common economic incentives for participation during the point in time in which the ECSC treaty was framed. Belgium and West Germany respectively already relied heavily on foreigners working in the coal and steel industries, or needed more skilled labor in order to replace workers lost during the war (Petzina, Stolper and Hudson, 1981; Maas, 2005). Thus, commonality of national interests serves as the basis for the inclusion of free movement in the 1951 treaty.

Still it would appear that that the rationale for inclusion of a right of free movement for workers did not stop at a mere commonality of instrumental interests. In the years after the war, elite political will existed for Western Europe to develop "an identity separate from the Soviet bloc and from the United States" (Willis, 1978, 3). In this vein, free movement of workers as well as resources was viewed by the High Advisory of the ECSC as one means of raising the standard of living of western European workers by allowing them to take advantage of the common benefit of a larger, freer market (Willis, 1978; Maas, 2005). The free movement of labor for economic purposes represented the selection of liberal economic methods, which were aimed at boosting standards of living and raising the steel and coal production of western European states by more efficiently utilizing resources endogenous to those countries. The above goals were viewed by the elites who formed the supranational organization to be dependant upon common opportunity in "the undistorted competition of which freedom of movement for workers

formed an integral part" (Maas, 2005, 1019). This could indicate that supranational, liberal market integration was held by the integrative rationale to stand as forming a common market identity through the creation of mutual solidarity, fostered by an apparent, overall net-benefit in competition (as opposed to a *promise* of gross-benefit for all). It stems mainly from a discourse of commonality of interests for each Member State to develop economically -- and a consensus that such growth could come to create an incipient, affective market-based identity. Though many of the ECSC's provisions -- including article 69 -- were never fully implemented due to the 'growing pains' of the High Authority, their language and the supranational, elite discourse behind them became enshrined in the treaty, ready to be drawn upon when crafting further agreements (Gillingham, 1991, 343).

The spillover of freedoms, institutions and integrative rationale into the Treaty of Rome

The creators of the Treaty of Rome were aware that the factionalized functioning of the ECSC led to its failure to fully implement treaty provisions. For this reason, emphasis was placed on remedying causes of the impotent nature of the decision-making process in the High Authority and other supranational organs. The fragmentation within said bodies caused the Treaty of Rome's framers to focus on what they perceived to be the problem: the limited competencies and methods of function that European supranational powers possessed, rather than problematizing national disagreements over implementation of the common steel and coal market and its market for workers. On the point of the Treaty of Paris's shortcomings in this area, some of the blame centered on the exact supranational nature of the High Authority. As the only common body in the Coal and Steel Community with real decision-making power, the Authority was required "to make decisions on most major issues (ECSC Treaty, Art. 8–16) as well as

initiate all proposals” (Tsebelis and Kreppel, 1998, 56). This dual responsibility made it difficult for its members to easily reach a consensus. In order to remedy this issue in the Treaty of Rome, the powers of the Council and Court were expanded. Yet, the Commission retained the power of agenda setting. Thus, the operation of the institutions that governed the single market for workers became much more top-down in nature, while remaining somewhat isolated from national control.⁴ Going forward, the evolution of this institutional arrangement meant that the post-1957 supranational institutions; especially the Commission and ECJ, would be able to exercise significant influence over the scope of interpretation of the right of labor movement and its implementation in Community law, through application of the discursive rationale of solidarity in the common market through the creation of common benefit for its members.

It is interesting to note that this process got underway even as popular national support for Europe’s integration seemed not to be in evidence. (De Smedt, 2012). The initiative to remedy the impotence of the ECSC was not a grassroots movement. Instead, it was a top-down process in which its promoters “often remained vague and restrained on the institutional arrangements necessary for these new European ventures” and took pains to “avoid unpopular proliferation of European institutions” (ibid). The continuance of integration as a top-down process based on a supranational discourse of common benefit in integration may provide an explanation for why the framers of the Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community chose, in essence, to preserve the basic structure of ECSC’s provisions when widening them. They modified the institutions’ competencies in order to better allow them to carry out their

⁴ More specifically Tsebelis and Kreppel argue that by granting power of initiation of a political agenda to the Commission, contingent upon approval by the Council, it became much easier for European institutions to set a clear direction in policy and maintain it once underway (1998).

functions, as justified by an integrative rationale, with less obstruction from consequences of public support.

The affection-creating rationale of common market integration

Provisions regarding the free movement of labor were one of the precepts of the ECSC treaty that were passed into the Treaty of Rome with relatively little amendment. The relevant articles were expanded to include the right of free movement of labor, including workers in all sectors and self-employed persons. Though larger in scope, articles 48 thru 58 of the treaty, which created the European Economic Community, were relatively similar in rationale to their earlier counterpart as part of the creation of a Community that was intended to "to lay the foundations of an ever-closer union among the peoples of Europe...[and] ensure the economic and social progress of their countries by common action to eliminate the barriers that divide Europe".⁵ The treaty-based discourse of common interests leading to the creation of an affective political union remained apparent, while, as a part of it, 'Europe' is discussed as a single space that should necessarily unify if said barriers were to be removed. Thus, the Treaty of Rome sought first to ensure that market-based, beneficial economic outcomes would be brought about by the broader destruction of national border demarcation, such that "national immigration barriers would not prevent persons moving to those areas of the Community where their labour, professional or entrepreneurial skills or services were most in demand" (Evans, 1982,497). The expansion of the labor movement rights again resulted from a mainly a top-down discourse that concerned the realization of common interest in the creation of the common market among its Member States. These benefits were to be brought about through liberal market allocation of

⁵ Here I treat the freedom of establishment in the common market as simply a type of labor movement; logically a necessary outgrowth of expanding this freedom to the entire labor market.

labor resources. But, through this, the discourse holds that these cross-border interactions also could have “potential significance for unifying the Member states politically” (Singer, 1977). Which, as the sentiments of an EEC Commission Vice President were echoed, made the free movement of workers viewed by the EEC institutions as “an essential step towards political integration” (ibid). Indeed, as the offspring of the High Authority, the Commission’s legal mandate to initiate supranational policy directives seems to have imbued it with a decidedly pro-integrative character, but one justified by a supranational-level, treaty-based discourse regarding the creation of political affection through the common benefit that was supposed to be created by the integrative actions of the supranational institutions.

At the same time, it is apparent within the treaty-based discourse, that more mobility was not viewed as normatively positive in all cases 'for its own sake'. Instead, it seems apparent that it was used to derive mutual reasonable or fair benefit, while at the same time not being mis-used, or abused. Article 49, section D of the Rome Treaty states that one of the purposes of free movement was to "facilitate the achievement of a balance between supply and demand in the employment market in such a way as to avoid serious threats to the standards of living and employment levels in the various regions and industries". Similarly, one of the grounds on which national restriction of freedom of movement can be justified is said treaty’s so-called ‘public policy’ clause. This provision allows states to deny the movement of a worker or person on the basis of “limitations justified on grounds of public policy, public security or public health” (Treaty of Rome, 1957, art. 48-3).^{6 7} Thus, while said top-down discourse did hold integration to

⁶ By comparison the Treaty of Paris calls for “Limitations imposed by the fundamental needs of health and public order” in Article 69. Through less sweeping than the similar clause in the treaty of Rome it was originally intended to cover only certain groups of skilled workers.

lead to a European affectation through its creation of common interest and balance, said rationale also retained a cognizance that integration of the common market must be carried out in fair or reasoned manner, rather than be regarded as self-evidently good in all cases.

There seemed to be little concern for the issue of intra-EEC labor migration within national publics initially after the Treaty of Rome took effect. The reasons offered for this apathy appear to be two-fold. Both relate to the favorable economic climate in the region for most of 1960's. The need for non-Community workers may have been fueled by the fact that they were more attractive to employers, as they did not enjoy protection equal to that accorded to workers of EEC origin. The booming economy also meant that EEC workers did not need to migrate in order to seek employment (Evans, 1982; Straubhaar, 1988).⁸ The relatively largest amount of intra-EEC migrants came from Italy, the state with the most noticeably different labor market of the original 6 members. But, the vast majority of migrants actually came from regions such as Scandinavia, southern Europe or Iberia that would eventually become included in the common market (Straubhaar, 1988).⁹ As a result, some resistance developed toward immigration during the late 60's. However, this was centered on immigrants from non-member countries (Stalker, 2002). The positive economic climate during this decade meant that national conceptions regarding lifting demarcations to labor market entry had little reason to conflict with actions resultant from the EU discourse of identity creation through solidarity in the common interest of the common market. Although said rights had been emplaced and would become more legally

⁷ Although initial decisions by the EJC upheld the right of Member States to protect the safety of their public, in the context of decisions such as *Costa v ENEL*, the ECJ was able to use its powers to promote Europeanization of the common market through judicial activism (Palmowski, 2011).

⁸ As a contributing reason for the relative lack of common market migration Schildhaus adds that the actual implementation of European-level policy was rather anemic at this time (1989,550-1).

⁹ Interestingly, Eurostat's databases which track immigrant and emigration with an eye to Union versus non-Union citizenship only go back to 1998.

comprehensive, the lack of actual intra-Community movement meant that any apparent consequences of these changes were not readily visible to the public eye.

The creeping expansion of supranational competencies and the movement of persons

Within this climate of permissive consensus among Member State publics, the supranational rationale of common benefits in integration, with respect to free movement, saw to it that the supranational institutions' competencies were allowed to spill over into other policy areas without much resistance. The two treaties had nominally enacted a free movement of labor -- and later services -- as economic means of achieving goals of Community interest in prosperity (Evans, 1982). Yet, according to this discourse, the Commission began to expand strict interpretation of its original mandate to promote labor movement, by advancing what it saw as solidarity-creating corollaries to those treaty provisions in the creation of a fundamental right of a broader free movement of persons. The discourse of solidarity creation through common benefit in integration was used as a rationale; the Community institutions extended "the personal scope of free labor movement beyond the strict requirements of the Treaty provisions governing this freedom" (502).

For instance, Evans points out four Directives or Regulations for which this was the case. The first of these four expansions in the interpretation of treaty provisions came with Directive 64/220. It granted not only the rights of freedom of establishment and movement for the purpose of service provision to those wishing to do so, but also the rights of movement for those wishing to receive services (1982, 502-3). The directive in question states the rationale behind the drafting of this policy as follows: "freedom of establishment can only be fully attained if a right of permanent residence is granted to the persons who are to *enjoy* freedom of establishment...

[defined as] persons providing and receiving services" (Directive 64/220)¹⁰. In this, the freedom of establishment is clearly viewed in the supranational discourse as a benefit that (practically) all of the common market's citizens must be able to take part in as an *advantage* provided through the integration process.

The second of the Directives, 68/360, was meant to enable freedom of movement to other Member States for reasons connected to seeking employment (Evans, 1982). As similar discursive rationale was used within the document to justify the spillover: "Measures should be adopted for the abolition of restrictions...which conform to the *rights and privileges* accorded... to nationals of any Member State" (Directive 68/360). Again, the expansion of the comprehensiveness of free movement is viewed not only in technocratically functionalist terms. Instead, the right to move freely to another Member State in order to seek work is viewed as the provision of a common 'privilege' -- one that community citizens would not otherwise have if they were not Member State nationals.

As the supranational discourse of solidarity engenderment through the creation of common benefits in integration lent itself to a broader interpretation of the right of freedom of movement, it also became further entrenched. For instance, Regulations 1612/68 and 408/71 related to the inclusiveness of Member States' social security systems with regard to ECC job-seekers outside of their home country. The expectation was also implicit that movement, fairly exercised and facilitated, would lead to the creation of a commonality between Member State citizens at the level of the common market:

It is appropriate at this time to bring together in a single legislative instrument all the basic provisions for implementing Article 51 of the Treaty for the benefit of workers, including frontier workers, seasonal workers and seamen...[that] must guarantee to workers who move within the

¹⁰ The Italics were added by me.

Community their accrued *rights and advantages* whilst not giving rise to unjustified overlapping of benefits (Regulation 408/71).¹¹

Just as the broad discourse behind European economic integration had been enshrined and evolved through treaties, the manner in which those aims were put into supranational code by European institutions gradually took on a more expansive character that began to make the free movement of workers more synonymous with free movement of persons, based on a discursive rationale of movement as a common benefit that made EU citizens worthy of recognition as in the same category, as a result of a fairly exercised mutual right.

From common to single market: Justifying EU citizenship's right of free movement

The integration process slowed during the 1970's, mostly due to national resistances to the commission's policymaking actions conflicting with normative conceptions of the normalcy of national sovereignty (Taylor, 1982). The Commission and members of Parliament originated a project to re-start the integration process through the concluding of the Single European Act. Its purpose was to set concrete goals in order to realize those aspects of supranational integration that had yet to be implemented on national levels, including those related to free labor movement through the creation of a more comprehensive European Union (Schildhaus, 1989; Moravcsik, 1991).¹² The discourse of common benefit in what was a mostly top-down integration process remained apparent in justifying this action; it held that common benefits in integration must become more apparent in order to foster solidarity, due to a conceit that it is "incumbent upon

¹¹ This regulation also mandates the provision of benefits not only to the workers themselves, but also to their families. The italics in the quote were added by myself.

¹² Although freedom of movement of labor was included in the Treaty of Rome and then expanded by European institutions, Schildhaus points out that removal of obstacles to free movement were a provision of the SEA, thus, meaning that implementation of national policies to better facilitate such movement were wanting (1989).

Europe to aim at speaking ever increasingly with one voice and to act with consistency and solidarity in order more effectively to protect its common interests and independence" (SEA, 1968). Thus, the increased visibility of free movement, as a part of integration, was judged in discourse as something that would have the effect of making benefits of supranational integration more apparent, thus generating the affective support for 'Europe' necessary if the project was judged to have the best possibility for success.

In context of 1980's expansions, a community-level, identity-creation rationale can also be discerned regarding the expansion and integration of the common market. Yet, it was one that still found its bases in material benefit of accession and integration as helping to foster the creation of a common identity through shared economic and political values. It appears that the political situation in Greece, Spain and Portugal, after their autocratic regimes fell, played a role in the EC's deciding to pursue the accession of these less-developed states (Preston, 1997). In Spain and Portugal specifically, the increased threats or presence of nationalizations and Communist-style rhetoric in transitional governments led Western allies to worry about their loyalties within the context of the Cold War (Bermeo, 1997). Therefore, a "common emphasis on ensuring the stability of fledgling democratic regimes appear[ed] to predominate the discussion of Spanish and Portuguese entry into the Community" (Gonzalez et al., 1983, 20). Such a focus on geo-political interests seems to have outshined any national concerns regarding emigration from the three new Members following their accession (Gonzalez et al., 1983; Preston, 1997). Still, by enticing these countries into the 'European' fold, through allowing them the privilege of beneficial movement common to all Community citizens, among other advantages, it was hoped that they would be encouraged to pursue governance structures in line with democratic values associated with 'European' identity.

Following on the aforementioned enlargements and passage of the SEA, EU institutions moved toward the creation of the new treaty. Aware of the calls for more bottom-up accountability in the decision-making process of European institutions, the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht attempted to address this by providing more power to the EU parliament (Bieber and Kopp, 1992/3; Laitinen-Rawana, 1994). In doing so, it altered the decision-making process on the supranational level itself, while not changing the supranational integrative purpose implicit in the structural setup of its institutions, or the discursive rationale for integration imbued into them. In order to better carry out integration, the purview of those bodies was again increased. Maastricht expanded the stated powers of European governance from solely economy-related areas into areas of social policy connected with formalizing the single market, of which free movement of labor had become an integral part. Again, the rationale behind this remained both interest-based, with regard to the engenderment of common affection between European peoples and related to the free movement of persons. Indeed, the Maastricht treaty reflected an apparent desire to "deepen the solidarity between [Europe's] peoples" while doing so through reinforcing the ability of the EU institutions to "Facilitate the free movement of persons, while ensuring the safety and security of" Europeans (TEU, 1992). Thus it would appear that the supranational discourse held that common affections with Europe would become extant once signs of integration became more apparent; it was reasoned that this would allow member state populations to become more aware of the common benefits of integration of what was now a single market.

Relatedly, one justification for the increased expansiveness of the integration process, was the necessity to harmonize the "social dimension... helping to *make the market*...by removing nontariff barriers to the free movement of labor rooted in national social policies or

insufficient harmonization among member states with regard to the education and training of workers," thereby increasing their actual ability to exercise what the EU discourse viewed as a beneficial, common right (Lang, 1993, 7). However, contrary to the apparent expectations of the supranational rationale for integration, or with previous expansions of Community power, the absorption of more and more visible matters into the EU's competency sparked noticeable public resistance, particularly in Britain, Denmark and France (Lange, 1993; Bieber and Kopp, 1992/3).¹³ Some, such as Moravcsik, suggest that democratic states may have chosen to join the EU order to enhance their overall sovereignty through increased economic security, despite the requirement of opening their countries to the preview of EU policy-making. This could provide some explanation for why public resistance to expansion of EU power arose as it moved explicitly, with increasingly visible consequences, into social and national political spheres, traditionally protected by state-based boundaries. However, this accounting does not explain why such expansion continued to occur, even as further integration became increasingly problematized by some Member State publics.

At this point, it is interesting to note the formalized creation of a European citizenship in the 1992 treaty, which held a broader right of free movement of persons – instead of only workers -- as one of its central tenants. The creation of an EU citizenship represented an expansion of supranational power into the socio-political sphere (Weiler, 1999). As such, it represented an appeal of the EU to its public for common affection to the common supranational space it saw itself as creating, as a visible symbol of common benefits in that supranational

¹³ The UK decided to opt-out of the social protocol until 1997; this skeptical position took shape and was based off of a bent reflecting reluctance to loosen national boundary demarcation of social policy. (Lange, 1992). Grassroots resistance took place in France and Denmark, where the referendums that took place barely adopted the treaty in the former while initially rejecting it in the latter, despite much greater approval in the national legislatures (Bieber and Kopp, 1992/3).

realm's existence. However, instead of encouraging the perception of benefit or advantage from the ability to move or compete in a single market, the more comprehensive dimension of Maastricht -- combined with implementation of the common market as a top-down political initiative from beyond national borders -- meant that "Decisions concerning rules to be enforced across the EU (e.g. harmonizing regulations of product standards, labour conditions, etc.) [now took on] a zero-sum character, and necessarily involve[d] gains or losses for individual states" and by extension citizens of those states, as part of a more comprehensive integration process (Marks, Hooghe, and Blank, 1996, 346). In other words, instead of an economically based right, grounded in a nation state-based consensus for market-based growth, freedom of movement of workers had transformed, in accordance with the EU's net-beneficial discourse, into a freedom of movement of persons, which officially incorporated obligations of possible adversity for individuals. This does not necessarily negate the validity of the EU's rationale of common overall benefit in movement within a common space of Europe. However, it was not perceived in this manner by many segments of Member State publics. This begins to indicate that something stood to inhibit said discourse of identity formation through common net-interest in integration from being taken up in national debates. Instead, public opinion would increasingly begin to call into question the perceived fairness of increasingly visible removal of state-based barriers within national spheres of debate. The above serves to illuminate why public resistance to the EU project became more pronounced; the supranational, interest-based discourse was not entertained. Instead, negative consequences of increased integration were increasingly perceived on the national level. However, this does not explain what stands to prevent said discourse from taking root, nor the communicative processes or mechanisms through which resistance to EU integration stood to grow, as experienced through the lens of the free movement of persons.

Free movement and national debates of 'EU' Issues: From identity to interests

The Post-Maastricht environment saw deepening implementation of EU level policies related to the dismantlement of barriers on access to employment and benefits on the Member State level. Previously, limited amounts of implementation and actual human movement meant that public concern over the theoretical impact of destroying these barriers was limited. After the 1992 treaty entered into effect, concern within the literature grew as to the effects of the politicization of implementation of EU-wide policy on national spheres of debate. Further, instead of leading to positive affection with the supranational level -- as expected by the EU discourse -- an increased popular wariness of the EU's integration project in national public spheres and news environments was also noted. Such trends resulted in an increased salience of issues related to EU integration in national publics. But, instead of reflecting the discourse of positive benefit in integration, resistance to the process in public opinion became more pronounced, even as the expansion and enlargement processes moved toward the inclusion of many of the former Iron Curtain states. The EU institutions moved to 'Europeanize' them through inclusion in the common privileges of the single market.

Increased integration's interaction with national mediated debates and identities

In the aftermath of the passage of the treaty of Maastricht, the increased implementation of EU-level policies meant that issues related to free movement of persons, among other aspects, became increasingly politicized among Member State publics. As a result, increasing attention was paid to the nature of the public discourse regarding issues of European integration. As Schlesinger and Kevin note, the existence of various EU-related issues across separate nation-states was seen to cause the EU to continue to lack the characteristics of "a polity easily

characterized in conventional terms” while at the same time having the potential to constitute a discursive space, despite the hindrance of “communicative boundary-markers” (2000, 209-11). This supranational nature of the Union may result in the creation of a sphere of multiple European publics, in which those national publics could debate issues relating to the EU in European contexts. Yet, this would require the creation of a Union-wide “European news agenda” which has not been extant in popular national media (228).

Alternatively, others have argued that these enduring national barriers to communication are of less importance, taking the post-Maastricht increase in protest by European citizens directed against the EU institutions and the integration process as evidence of a viable EU public sphere and news agenda regarding EU related issues (Trenz and Eder, 2004). According to this view, the role of the media is also key in that “conflictive debates about Europe can be expected to penetrate the media; thus forming a ‘media constituted’ public sphere” (11). This argument notes the key role of the news media within the public sphere generally. However, simply because a vague wariness of EU integration became more pronounced in national discourses after Maastricht does not necessarily lead to the creation of a European public sphere or even spheres in which supranational issues are discussed with a Union-wide scope. Further, continued differences across national press contexts and viewpoints mean that “There is no agreement on common interests or values and different languages and disparate national cultures make [EU wide] opinion formation and coherent action unlikely” (Eriksen, 2004, 11-2). As a result, “A common public debate – on the same themes, issues and criteria of relevance – is, thus, not achievable” (ibid). Indeed, this argument seems rather convincing; concurrent studies of media seem to bear this out. Issues of European integration were debated. Yet, it was often in the context of national actors discussing perceived national implications of EU integration, rather

than a genuinely Europeanized debate (Koopmans, 2004). At the same time, in many countries, a sizable number of opinion pieces depicted different EU institutions in a negative manner for varying reasons, or remained generally ambivalent about further integration, despite the expectations of the EU discourse (Pfetsch, 2004). Thus, even as consequences of the integration process became visible, the perceived consequences of supranational integration continued to be discussed in predominantly national spheres of mass-mediated debate, rather than in a common space in which a debate with 'European' scope could take shape. Yet, why this is the case remains inadequately addressed.

The increased tendency of the media to report issues that are somehow related to integration in national terms, after the formal creation of the EU, serves to highlight the relative lack of existence of an affective European identity amongst Member State publics. This connection has led some to conclude that fomentation of a European identity could be best brought about, at least in theory, through the mediated creation of an EU public sphere. However, this proves problematic as changing the state-oriented focus of the national medias is not a process that can easily be accomplished in a top-down manner from the supranational level (Grundmann, 1999). In fact, the current tendency of Member States, medias and their parent companies to “pursue a national line even and especially where European policy is an issue in the national public debate...strengthen[s] *national* debates about Europe" (137).

In contravention to the expectation of the EU discourse, national framing of ‘European’ events can also be thought of as both resulting from and reinforcing the primacy of national identity and interest perceptions in light of the increasing wariness of EU integration, especially with respect to the free movement of persons. This flows from the fact that nationality, and thus the resultant national identity that presumably goes with it, can be rather rigid and exclusive

concepts (Mayer and Palmowski, 2004). However, the EU interest-based discourse runs counter to this exclusivity by forcing greater permeability between national groupings. Thus, the EU rationale possibly comes into conflict with conceptions of national interests that flow from perceptions of nation-state boundary demarcations (ibid).¹⁴ The visibility of integrative measures -- or their perceived consequences -- can lead to fears that such measures threaten protections afforded by national identity conceptions, which can, in turn, lead could lead to less support for the EU (Carey, 2002; Medrano, 2003)¹⁵ As has been pointed out, it may be due to the continued public conceptions of affective identity as being first and foremost national that Western European press continues to tend to frame the free movement of persons as occurring because of the EU, but primarily in a Europe of nation states (Koopmans, 2004). As EU integration of the right of free movement of persons took on a more expansive character after Maastricht, it would seem that its effects became more highly debated, but in national terms and in national spheres. Still, this does not do much to highlight the specific sources of nationally oriented reluctance to entertain the EU discourse.

On visible consequences of integration: Resistance despite a viable integrative rationale

¹⁴ Mayer and Palmowski argue the that rights of free movement have served to bypass the inherent restrictions of national identity conceptions; stating, by example, that freedom of establishment overcomes a scenario in which “it may take decades for a Scot to gain German citizenship and it may be forever impossible to gain popular acceptance as such” (2004, 591) However, in doing so they take for granted that instances of migration that occur as a result of the EU’s rights of free movement will be automatically ‘popularly accepted’ as legitimate. As will be discussed later, the type of movement they mention remains largely confined to mobile elites.

¹⁵ This is especially true if a given individual or group views the nation-state as the terminal community to which their affection extends (Carey, 2002). Thus, resistance to integration should be more apparent in some sections of national societies more than others. While Medrano (2003) does note this possibility, he concludes, largely, that framing had become more accepting of EU integration over time. Yet, this does not explain why resistances to integration would continue to grow in national publics if that were the case, especially in the context of the post-2004 environment.

As previously mentioned, in the aftermath of Maastricht a growing popular resistance toward the Europeanization process became more pronounced in public opinion. This trend can also be placed in context of the fall of Berlin wall: “The relatively positive specter of an Americanization of Europe and the negative specter of a Sovietization of Europe [were] being replaced by the anxiety of a Europeanization” (Borneman and Fowler, 1997, 488). amid this, the process of Europe becoming more European became increasingly conflated with the increasingly unpopular EU institutions (ibid). More empirical support is provided for the above observation, showing a growing decline in support for the EU after the treaty of Maastricht due to the increased push toward the harmonization of regulations in many sectors designed to make movement of persons easier (Eichenberg and Dalton, 2007). Despite the discourse of common benefit, many Europeans “feared the fulfillment of what appeared to them to be a neofunctionalist nightmare” as the integration process continued to grow pervasively into new spheres of influence (ibid). This trend spread to former Iron Curtain states where would-be expansion states were encouraged by the EU to undertake sweeping market reforms and learn from their "peers" in the West in preparation for their eventual inclusion in the Union; as had been the case with the EU integrative rationale in the past, it would appear that a supranational expectation that the prospect of gaining equal economic rights with the current EU states would lead to their becoming more 'European' (Palmowski, 2011, 648-9).

Despite the increased salience of EU-related issues in public debates regarding the expansion of integration policies, the EU institutions continued to expand their competencies -- in line with their supranational discourse -- into other policy-related as well as geographic areas, thus making the right of free movement more comprehensive. As in the past, in light of the drive toward creation of the single market and other innovations such as the EMU, the EU did not

respond to changes in national opinion by restraining its policy-making activities. Instead, it seemed to press forward. As Pollak writes: Even in a “political environment less conducive to the continuing centralization of authority...the European Union remains an active regulator across a wide range of issue areas, and will continue to play the role of a regulatory state predicted for it by Delors in the halcyon days of the 1980's" (2000, 537). Elsewhere, he cites an increased emphasis not only on the implementation of single market freedoms themselves but also a greater emphasis on removing non-tariff barriers, such as restrictions on movement of persons, after 1992 for the increased rate of regulatory spillover (1994).

As one of these advancements, the incorporation of the Schengen agreement into the EU framework through the treaty of Amsterdam can be taken as evidence of expanding competencies in an attempt to increase the apparentness of common benefit from integration as a supranational reaction strategy to public resistance. Amendments to the previous treaties in the 1997 agreement would appear to point for a realization within the EU discourse of a need for further demonstrative clarification of its interest-based, integrative rationale to its people: "This Treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as openly as possible and as closely as possible to the citizen." (Amsterdam treaty, 1997) Yet, at the same time, it seems intent on clarifying benefits to the citizen through further integration of free movement as a part of the Treaty's purpose to "facilitate the free movement of persons, while ensuring the safety and security of their peoples, by establishing an area of freedom, security and justice" (ibid). Thus, the EU discourse evolved to view 'more Europe' as a response to public resistance, in an attempt to more boldly demonstrate benefits or rights that may flow from it. However, instead of decreasing wariness, the EU's increasing provision of what its discourse viewed as common rights and benefits seemed to

spark even stronger resistance and dis-integrative steps on the Member State level. As Den Boer and Corrado explain in one instance, "The paradox [of Schengen's incorporation] is that this right to a 'selective opting-in' [to Schengen protocols] now includes even those Community measures, such as certain visa matters, to which the UK and Ireland were fully participating under the Treaty of Maastricht! The arrangement should thus be considered as a serious setback in the development of free movement" (1999, 410).¹⁶ In other words, by making the Schengen Area part of EU cooperation along with other integrative actions, the European institutions began to cause Member States to more strongly resist the breakdown of barriers, rather than cause publics to perceive them as meaningful benefits or rights as expected in the EU discursive rationale.

UK's decision to continue to control its own borders is clearly an inhibition to the free movement of persons. But it does not explain the broader sense of reticence to implementation of the single market. Of course, it is possible to question whether said reluctance is because the EU's integrative activities do not, in fact, provide common net-benefit to its citizens, as argued by the EU's discourse.

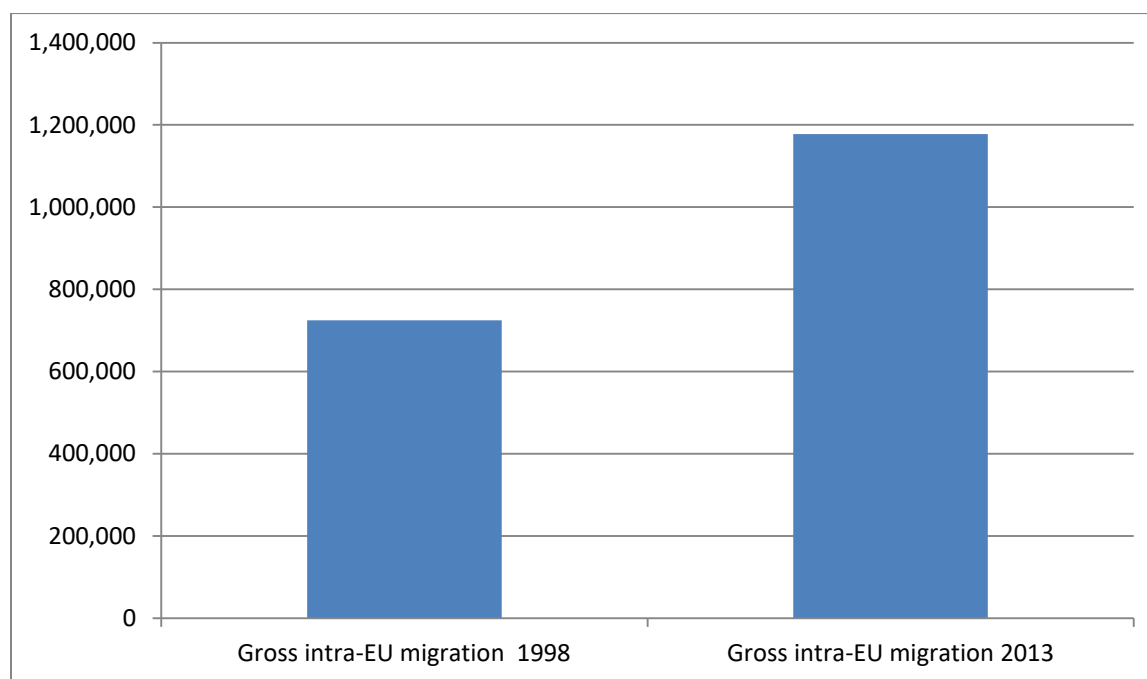
At this point it is also reasonable to ask why popular national resistance regarding the freedom of movement of persons as an aspect of single market creation did not seem to increase more explicitly than others. It would appear that, despite increased supranational policy-making designed to make this freedom more feasible, the amount of migration within the single market still remained relatively small before the 2004 eastern expansion. Although functional barriers to free movement of persons were being removed, other more structural factors, such as "a lack of language skills and problems getting educational and professional qualifications recognized"

¹⁶ The treaty did not grant the UK, Ireland, and Denmark blanket immunity from participation in Schengen. Instead, it allows them to opt-in to certain aspects if those states feel it is to their advantage.

continued to contribute to small amounts of people historically choosing to avail themselves of supranational rights (Dobson and Sennikova, 2007, 124). The additions of the lesser developed states of Greece, Spain, and Portugal did not produce the post-adjustment period exodus of migrants following their gaining full rights within the Community; with the number of Spanish living in the rest of the Community actually decreasing from 1987 through 1997 (ibid).

Therefore, there may have been little reason to believe that further enlargement of the right of freedom of movement of persons through expansion would be a problem that could not be surmounted with transitional measures used in the past. Indeed, regarding Eastern Expansion there existed a belief that: “though rich border countries will, in turn, face migration pressures because of geographical proximity, high unemployment in the East, and high wage differentials, in the history of the Community the movement of labor has been more strongly restricted and much lower than the movement of goods and capital” (Schimmelfennig, 2001, 52).

Chart 1: Gross EU immigration before and after Eastern Expansions¹⁷



Source: Eurostat

As hinted at above, when considering the consequences of enlargement eastward, knowledge from experiences with past enlargements was considered relevant in the literature. Yet, those who favored interest-based accountings of expansion seemed rather ambivalent about how to treat rising public reticence regarding it. For instance, in greater accordance with the EU discourse, Moravcsik and Vachudova emphasize interests as providing existing Member States

¹⁷ Culling intra-EU migration figures relating to 'older' incarnations of the Union from Eurostat's database is surprisingly difficult. One can filter the 'Immigration by Age Group, Sex and Citizenship' data to only include the EU-28. However, this automatically erases any data from before 2013. Getting data from before that requires manually searching for each Member State at a given time and then adding up the immigration figures for citizens of that state to all of the other ones. Further, Eurostat's pamphlet on EU migration, while factual, draws much attention to things like emigration from western European States and the number of individuals from the Eastern Expansion States who are returning to their home countries (Eurostat 2017). This could point to a tendency of the EU's discourse to filter out aspects of the integration process that are politically unpopular, while focusing on the benefits of movement.

with adequate incentive to favor expansion (2003). At the same time, they admit that the 2004 enlargement faced hurdles when it came to popular support; writing that "Enlargement is unpopular with EU voters, many of whom associate it with rising illegal immigration, international crime, and unemployment ... there is little evidence that enlargement will contribute measurably to any of these problems (to the contrary!)" (27).¹⁸ In the East, they posit that economic self-interest played a role as well: "East European states [took] part in the laborious accession process because EU membership brings tremendous economic and geopolitical benefits — particularly as compared to the uncertain and potentially catastrophic costs of being left behind as others move forward " (22). However, despite the apparent benefits of this process, they note that "Euroskepticism [was] rising among applicant countries" as well (29). Thus, as the integration process moved toward expansion in Central Eastern Europe, it became apparent that, despite the EU discourse, the enlargement and integration process of the single market coincided with growing attitudes of resistance regarding it.

Post-2004: The national politicization of free movement opposes the EU's discourse

The 2004 expansion saw large numbers of individuals move westward from the new Member States. Yet, as previously noted, studies seem to confirm, or at least not contradict, the EU discourse of integration as providing for common material net-benefit, through the provisions of mutual rights. With regard to the East, scholarship mostly centers on said exodus of workers to more highly paid positions in western countries and this phenomenon's disruptive

¹⁸ Grass-roots unpopularity regarding further expansion and integration may have played a role in the French and Dutch rejection of the 2005 constitutional treaty as "Eastern Europe was perceived as a factor contributing to the inability of the national government to preserve the existing social model". France's and Netherlands' protections on access to their national markets came into increasing conflict with EU liberal-market philosophy (Stefanova, 2006, 252). In conjunction with the enlargement, resistance to the constitutional treaty stemmed from controversial expansion of EU policy through the Directive on Services in the Common Market (Franck, 2005).

long-term effects (or lack thereof) on CEE labor markets (Fihel and Kaczmarczyk, 2009; Kaczmarczyk, 2010). Studies of the economic impact of migration to the more developed states in the West have shown that such movement has not had a sweeping impact on employment markets in destination countries (Kahanec et al., 2009; Barrell et al., 2010). However, in contravention of the EU rationale's expectations that increased movement and interaction would result in solidaristic affection to the single market, the same cannot be said for public perceptions of common market migration's consequences. As Dobson and Sennikova conclude, implementation of free movement of persons in the EU has become increasingly politicized, "with a substantial gap between the European Commission and economic opinion on the one hand and popular opinion on the other" (2007, 135). For instance, Martinsen and Vollaard add that the visibility of the free movement of persons in the context of the so-called 'crisis' of the western European welfare state has served to influence public attitudes. As they write: "The economic crisis and the enlargements of 2004 and 2007 have intensified the debate on welfare boundaries in the EU [due to increased] fear of social dumping and spurred suggestions of national welfare protectionism" (2014, 683-4). However, despite public concerns, there is little empirical evidence to support the supposition that the generosity of a state's welfare system may result in significantly greater strain on that system due to intra-EU migration (Giulietti et. al, 2011; Kahanec, 2013). In a similar vein, concerns regarding degradation of working conditions and wage rates as a result of free movement became politicized in more EU states, despite scant indications of such trends, as a result of the right of freedom of movement of persons (Krings, 2009).

Textbox 1: Examples of Post-Lisbon transactionalist discourse from EU institutions

EP Resolution adopted 25 Oct. 2011:

The free movement of workers represents a positive socio-economic example for both the EU and the Member States, being a milestone for EU integration, economic development, social cohesion, individual upgrading at professional level, fighting against prejudices, racism and xenophobia and can counteract the negative effects of economic crisis and better prepare for the challenges of global change, by engaging all stakeholders at decisional level together with the civil society into dialog.

Decision 1093/2012, declaring 2013 the European Year of Citizens:

Since its introduction in the 1958 Treaty of Rome as one of the four fundamental freedoms, the right of freedom of movement and residence has demonstrated its value as one of the pillars for the creation of an internal market for the benefit of Member States' economies and of individual Union citizens... Union citizens are prevented from enjoying their rights because they lack awareness of them.

EP Resolution adopted 27 Feb. 2014. Under Heading entitled 'Solidarity':

[The EP] ... deplores the fact that in some Member States transitional rules on free movement of workers are still in place; stresses that fears of negative impacts of labour migration are unfounded; points out that estimates show a long-term increase of almost 1 % in the GDP of the EU15 countries as a result of post-enlargement mobility (in 2004-09);

Notes that the recent labeling of free movement as migration to benefit from social security systems is not based on facts; emphasises that discrimination is a major obstacle preventing European citizens from enjoying fundamental rights; stresses that EU citizens residing permanently in another Member State enjoy the right to equal treatment regarding social security pursuant to Regulation (EC) No 883/2004;

Emphasises the need for the Commission and the Member States to strengthen their work on developing and guaranteeing labour rights and fundamental social rights as a crucial step towards ensuring that equal treatment, decent jobs and living salaries are obtained in the European Union.

Directive 2014/54:

A more effective and uniform application of rights conferred by Union rules on the free movement of workers is also necessary for the proper functioning of the internal market.

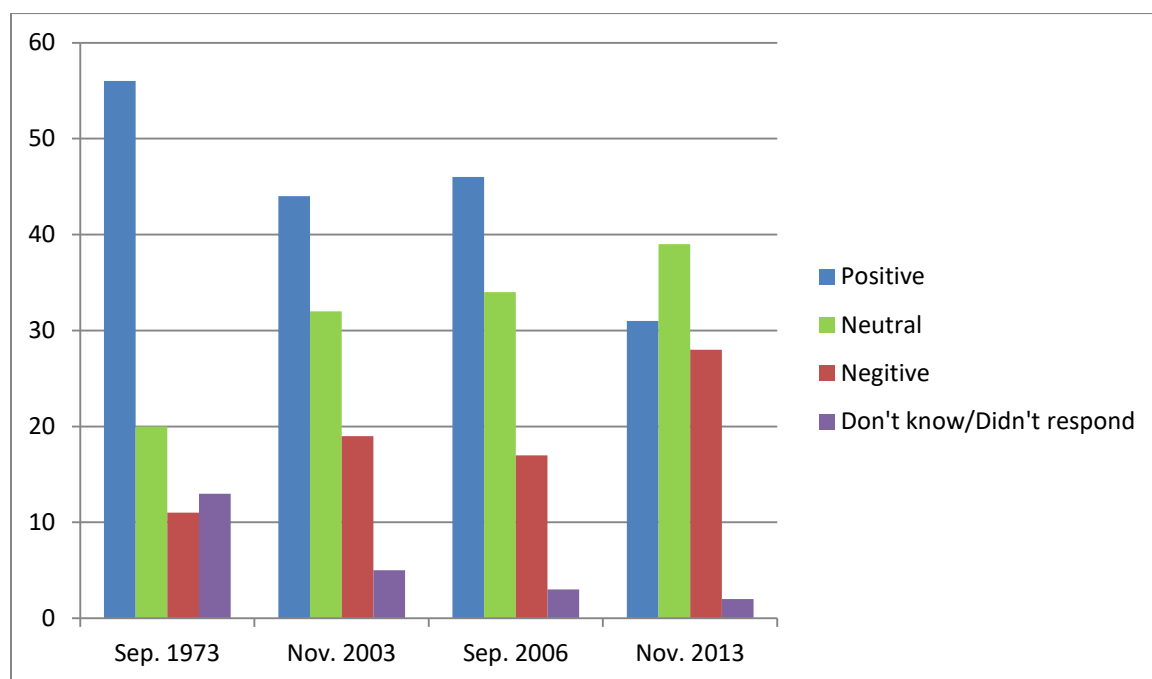
The application and monitoring of the Union rules on the free movement of workers should be improved to ensure that Union workers and members of their family as well as employers, public authorities, and other persons concerned are better informed about free movement rights and responsibilities....

However, none of the above economic evidence is to say that forces of regionalization such as EU integration have not increased the salience of issues related to the manner in which such forces stand to challenge barriers held as 'normal' by national publics. To the contrary, issues of how national economic and cultural landscapes may be affected negatively have risen to greater prominence as symptoms of the integration process became more visible, especially after the Eastern Expansions (Kriesi et. al, 2006). Such conceptions of state-bound identity conceptions may be related with perceptions of outcomes (Kholi, 2000). As Smith writes, while identity can be extant on many different levels ranging from local to supranational, national

identity encompasses “ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political” interrelated components of interests which “signify bonds of solidarity between” members (1991, 15). This means that citizens of Member States -- who see themselves as standing to ‘lose’ from the lifting of national boundaries due to free movement of persons -- may attribute responsibility for current or expected economic woe, perceived to be caused by global macroeconomic forces, to the free movement of persons. It is an especially visible aspect of regional integration, owing to the non-conformance of migrants with national cultural facets signifying their status as non-members.¹⁹ Indeed, the increasing need to define the “societal order in relation to the global order almost automatically means that political-ideological...movements arise” in order to increasingly define national identity vis a vis the rest of the world (Rumford, 2008, 142). Thus, the cultural-economic dimension of the state-based manner in which citizens conceive of their identities may provide some explanation for the disconnect between the material basis of reasonable economic interest in integration promoted by the EU's discourse and perceptions of free movement's consequences within some public discourses. However, it also does little to address the means by which the visibility of EU migration has come to conflict with the resilient barriers of national identities.

¹⁹ As an example, Toshkov and Kortenska find that regions in four Western Member States with larger numbers of migrants from CEE EU Members do, in fact, exhibit less support for further integration despite the economic reality (2015, 2). Yet, they do not attempt to explain explicitly why this seems to be the case.

Chart 2: Percentage of responses to Eurobarometer question: 'In general, does the EU conjure up a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?'²⁰



Source: Eurobarometer

On this point, Zurn, Binder and Ecker-Ehrhardt elaborate on the origins of the resulting politicization of European issues. In their view, the more intensive debate regarding integration flows from a tendency of the EU institutions to exercise authority while lacking the legitimacy to do so within the nation-state bounded, already existing, identities of those whose perceived to be affected by its decisions (2012, 84). Elsewhere, De Wilde and Zurn examine the implications of this conflict while arguing that increased general awareness of the EU as an important decision-taking body has resulted in greater mobilization of civil society groups with differing stances regarding integration (2012, 146-8). According to this view, increased mobilization has resulted

²⁰ For the 1973 survey no version of this question was asked. A question regarding attitudes towards membership in the common market was used as a reasonable stand in. Figures shown are the average for all of the Member States at the time the survey was conducted.

in more polarization, and thus leading to less overall support for further integration; fewer individuals have no opinion regarding EU-related issues. Free movement of persons occupies an important place within politicized European politics; mentioning that one of its central aspects is "increasing conflict between those in favour of opening national societies, economies and politics, and those who seek national isolation in immigration" (148). The implications of a connection between identity-based opposition to integration and EU's interest-based discourse are thus clear: As long as this impasse exists, resistance is not a temporary phenomenon, and is unlikely to simply go away, such that the validity of the EU discourse becomes more credible, if ignored by national and EU policymakers.

Further, although more EU citizens may have an opinion about the EU, research has indicated that this does not mean that said stances are generally well informed. As a result of such 'uninformed politicization', citizens may be aware of issues that, in fact, are connected to supranational integration while continuing to direct their state-based opinions regarding those issues toward the national level, amid a persistent ignorant mistrustfulness of the supranational institutions (Hurrelmann, Gora, and Wagner, 2013). This is important. Those with lower levels of political knowledge are more likely to be persuaded by media reports, especially when a given event is portrayed in a negative and risky light. As a result, negative frames are likely to have a greater effect on public opinion formation or re-entrenchment (Schuck and De Vreese, 2006). This situation seems to be especially true with regard to attitudes toward the right of free movement of persons such that "citizens' interests are still focused on the national level, even in [such] cases in which an issue's European dimension is evident" (Hurrelmann, Gora and Wagner,

2013, 13-4).²¹ Indeed, European issues such as "Immigration... slow economic growth and, finally, the financial crisis have caused citizens across Europe to view their national governments as the main focus of their identities and political activity...[in] a kind of European politics," rather than produce a grass-roots affection with 'Europe' through common benefit and experience as expected by the EU interest based discourse (Fligstein, Polyakova, and Sandholtz, 2012, 107). Flowing from this dissonance, the action available to national and EU leaders has become constrained and influenced by the politicization of issues connected to the EU in Member State publics as actual "economic and political pressures to keep integration at a high level [may] push politicians towards finding creative compromises that declare the interests of the nation are preserved" as their publics continue not to perceive apparent, or reasonable net-benefit from integration across a common market (108). Thus, it is clear that EU integration continues to occur amid resistance on the Member State public level. But, this says little about the conduit through which such resistance has become activated in public debate.

The increased politicization of EU-related issues by nation-state based publics means that the EU institutions can no longer act amid a pliant atmosphere of permissiveness within national electorates, as its discourse does not take root. Within this context, the persistence of nation-state oriented identities has caused governments to continue to frame issues that are common to all of Europe as exclusively of national import within national popular debate. In support of this stance, Risse argues that while there is much evidence of a more recent "trend towards the increased significance of EU questions in national public spheres", the enduring tendency of

²¹ In the study, Western Europeans cited personal ability to make use of the right of free movement of persons as an argument in favor of European integration. However, said ability was not connected with unpopular migration from eastern enlargement Member States, or with the European institutions that implemented it (Hurrelmann, Gora, and Wagner, 2013).

public and governments to frame issues in national terms serves to reinforce the primacy of state-based identity and thus to hinder the evolution of an EU-wide space for public communication through which issues such as free movement of persons could be discussed as having reasonable costs and benefits for all Europeans (2014, 154-5). Similarly, it has been pointed out that the prevalence of national identity has inclined Member State governments to engage in blame shifting to the EU level regarding unpopular consequences of integration, while taking credit for the positive developments, rather than promoting a European frame of public discourse (Schmidt, 2013). In this way, within the context of an increased need to explain European policy to the public, aspects of policies that are popular with national publics, such as ease of travel in Europe, may be framed as being somehow connected with the nation-state level while culpability for their unpopular consequences, such as intra-Union migration, are transferred to publicly opaque supranational institutions.

However, although politicians and political action groups do pursue their own communication strategies, exclusively focusing on them fails to capture the picture of the process by which national identity fails to take up the viable EU discourse regarding integration. Within the era of mass communication is clear that groups or individuals must first interact with the media in order to communicate with the wider public in a type of separate discourse. De Vreese points to the tendency of a viable public sphere to increase the legitimacy of institutions by serving to hold actors within them accountable for issues that are seen to occur within that discursive space, though not necessarily creating support for said institutions (2007). Yet, he notes the tendency of media in EU Member States to report on political developments in such a manner that "most of the news is seen through the prism of the nation" (9). Indeed, this means that the media may have a key role to play within the perpetuation of state-based identity

conceptions of legitimate governance, regardless of concrete interest: "The lack of a common European language, a European media or a European public opinion ensures that the communicative discourse comes largely by way of national political actors speaking to national publics in national languages reported by national media and considered by national opinion" (Schmidt, 2013, 13).²² Within the context of conceptions held by national identity the tendency of journalists to frame issues by focusing on conflict which they believe may impact on public moral values or interests could cause media to "influence the direction of audiences' thoughts when conceiving of a contemporary issue," thus, building it into an ongoing political crisis (De Vreese, 2005). Indeed, as Dobson notes, when one examines actual amounts and impacts of free movement-related EU migration in the post-2004 environment "one must wonder whether the political and media attention CEE migration has received is justified" (2009, 127). In this way, the national media also play a role in the politicization of the EU right of free movement of persons within the broader context of integration through drawing attention to events which are perceived to run counter to state-based identities that demarcate boundaries, regardless of the EU discourse. When combined with the increased public salience of such issues during the recent economic downturn, the role of the media in bringing such visibly topical issues related to the free movement of persons -- and more broadly integration -- to the forefront of debate could contribute to calls for disintegrative modification of Union-level measures by national publics as

²² On this point, Michilidou and Trenz contest that, in the context of the economic crisis, social media may provide a more transnational sphere through which debate regarding free movement as a right of EU citizenship can occur. However, they note that its existence across national boundaries has led to its extensive use by Intra-EU migrants, while not necessarily resulting in transnational debate among other groups vulnerable to unemployment in the lackluster economic environment (2014, 13-5). Additionally, their work seems not to address mitigating factors of differences in national languages, the extent to which the use of social media as a organizing tool by 'mobile' Europeans is a significant phenomenon, and the extent to which the pro- and anti-integration groups actually interact through new media, or the tendency of it to make use of content generated by traditional news sources.

their best perceived option (Saurugger, 2014). Yet the ideational mechanism by which such sentiment is created, as well as the media's exact location and role within it, remain under-examined and require further unpacking.

Conclusion

The growth and deepening of the single market for persons had grown and expanded over time, from applying to only a small group of skilled workers in certain sectors into a practically comprehensive right of freedom of movement of persons. It has done so according to a supranational discourse, which holds that common, Union-wide, net-benefits in integration should lead to solidaristic, identity-oriented affection with the single market and 'Europe', as movement within the Union increases. However, as mobility has increased, the integration process has clearly come under the umbrella of constraining resistance on the part of Member State publics, regarding the politicization of European issues in national spheres of deliberation. Despite the provision of common net-benefit (or at least not net-loss), loosening of nation-state based boundaries has resulted amid increasing disgruntlement regarding EU institutions or even membership in the organization. The politicization of EU-related issues is useful in explaining decreased popular support for integration. In this context, integrative policy initiation on the supranational level continues, despite the national identity-based tendency of segments of national populations to resist such efforts in the context of increasing popular dissatisfaction with the integration process. Thus, the single market has continued to deepen, even as political manifestations of anti-European sentiment become more visible in some Member States, having contributed to the rise of populist political parties in some, or a decision to depart from the EU in the case of the UK. However, the above does little to reveal how such

conflict between national publics' and the supranational institutions' discourses has become activated. Consequently, the manner in which politicization of the right of free movement of persons, specifically, has developed in Member States merits further attention as a source for public tendency to perceive loss in integration. Further, the role played by news media discourse in the representation of events related to the free movement of persons, as a part of the integration process, bears further examination.

Three: Theoretical Framework

Introduction: Free Movement, the Discourse/Identity Clash, and National Medias

In the previous section, the process of expansion of the EU, along with its rights of free movement, were traced and contextualized. As this process has continued, interests in integration remain in existence, while signs of the right of free movement of persons have become more visible. Beyond mere functionalism, this has led the EU to justify further integration through a supranational discourse regarding interest-based solidarity creation through single market integration. However, this section advances the argument that a lack of structural change in the manner in which the EU's citizens conceive of their identities has resulted in a clash between those identities and the supranational, transactionalist discourse used to justify integration; the latter holds the right to live and work in any Union Member State as a significant benefit of membership. On the other hand, national identities continue to influence interest perception through the accordance of solidarity ties. On the EU level, the interest-based discourse championing liberal, supranational market integration prevails. This line argues for the crafting of a European identity beyond the nation-state, based on the mutual net-benefits of integration. Within national public spheres, state-based protectionism regarding access to employment and social services remains entrenched by citizens who view their personhood as flowing from the state and perceive themselves as standing to 'lose' from processes of de-nationalization. As such, the national debates relating to integration refuse to countenance the interest-based discourse promoted by the EU. As will be argued, this is especially the case where popular discourse regarding the EU is evident. In order to access these national debates, the role of the news media in activating this clash within discourse of national public spheres is elaborated. Taking

inspiration from communication studies of news framing and the literature regarding moral panics, it is argued that news reports portray visible, if not significant, consequences of free movement of persons, in relation to other aspects of integration in the form of narrative (rather than discrete frames), which is needed in order to give a news report coherent drive. More specifically, the media portrays events related to integration as 'deviant' crises, resulting from the discourse/identity clash, leading to a two or more-sided conflict of legitimacy of jurisdiction between levels of governance. This conflict may be posited as requiring resolution by national resistance to EU integration as a part of an event or broader issue. These narrative components are structured according to the five W's and one H -- the seminal components that must be contained in complete news reports. Through the use of these formats, I argue that it may be possible to back out which aspects of popular discourses hold integration as threateningly deviant so as to foment resistance to the EU in Member States with different sub-national make-ups and differing relationships to the EU's single market for persons.

The 'Constraining Dissensus' as a Clash between EU Discourse and National Identity

The development of a political environment of 'constraining dissensus' on the decisions of the EU and national governments clearly implies that the array of policy options is more restricted than in the past. Said constraint results from dissonance between the supranational bent of the EU governance structure and the continued nation-state based nature of many of its citizens' identity conceptions. While the structure of EU governance -- and its justificatory rationale -- has evolved over time on the supranational level in order to accommodate increased integration, the manner in which citizens conceive of their identities, and thus the level on which solidarity is accorded, has changed little. Below, it is posited that this dissonance between public identity

conception and continued EU integration of the single market has become more prominent as the result of a clash between a supranational transactionalist discourse of mutual benefit of membership in the single market and the persistence of national identity-based interest perceptions.

The sticky construction of national identities, versus the EU discourse on integration

Dissonance between overall benefits and national perceptions regarding consequences of the continuing EU integration process would appear to deal a striking blow to interest-based, rationales of integration. On this point, Hooghe and Marks provide a significant innovation to functionalist-style thought by pointing out that the increased supranational emphasis on implementation of integrative measures resulted in a tipping point in public opinion regarding Europeanization: from one of apathy in which decisions were taken by unfettered political elites, to one of "*constraining dissensus*" in which leaders must take public sentiment into account when imposing new policy measures (2009, 5). In order to explain the shift, a 'post-functionalist' framework is advanced, in which further integration must carry the baggage of national identities in defining political as well as economic and other realities. Therefore, the continuance of European policy initiation has resulted in a situation in which "The jurisdictional shape of Europe has been transformed, but the way in which citizens conceive their identities has not" (12). This view explains increased involvement of the public in blocking or modifying EU policy, not as an increase in grassroots Euroskepticism or rejection of European integration per se, but instead as increased resistance through politicization of EU issues. This requires that the EU institutions must more actively put forth a discursive rationale in order to explain their activities, beyond simply justifying their inherent purpose.

Yet, when questioning what citizens will choose to problematize when forming their perceptions regarding issues related to EU integration, individuals often lack complete or accurate information. Thus, they rely on "cues" derived from sources such as personal ideological persuasions, the nature of national political arenas, accentuation of an issue by party leaders, and the selection and reporting of stories in the media (Hooghe and Marks, 2009). As a result, opinion regarding economic or cultural impacts of integration may be out of sync with the realities, affecting the relevance or seeming veracity of the EU interest-based discourse. Despite this, it may be tempting to argue that this trend towards politicization of European issues may slow the integration process only temporarily while strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the EU (Borzel and Risse, 2009). However, greater political awareness of the public regarding the existence of EU policies -- if not their substantive effects -- does not change the continued overall top-down nature of their origination, or necessarily lead to factual debate. Additionally, in groups where national identity remains exclusively primary, solidarity ties are expected to offer protection of employment and social security. As a result, within the post-functionalist context, some polities may continue to call into question the perceived economic and social consequences of implementing the single market, so long as integration requires lifting of national protections.

The EU has purview over multiple national markets. Yet, on the surface, it may seem counterintuitive to view the EU institutions as entities whose activities could be connected with claims for affective supranational solidarity. However, as we have seen, the EU bodies' repeated references to the EU, as a single economy in need of further comprehensive integration, may constitute evidence of interest-based appeals for identification with Europe (Rosamond, 2012). Further, in its more modern incarnation, the EU often continues to describe the benefits of

Membership in terms of the so-called 'four fundamental freedoms'. However, it is the free movement of persons, which, according to supranational rationales, has come to represent the most relevant and unique boon of Membership in terms of the common interest of national populaces:²³

Enjoyment of permanent residence by Union citizens who have chosen to settle long term in the host Member State would strengthen the feeling of Union citizenship and is a key element in promoting social cohesion, which is one of the fundamental objectives of the Union'...European movers are seen as the champions of an 'ever closer union'. Potentially, free movement across the borders of the EU member states, associated as it is with the status of European citizen, gives individuals great awareness of the role of the European institutions and of the potentially ampler life chances created by EU policies, thus strengthening the sense of belonging to Europe ...

regarding areas of integration beyond the free movement of persons (Directive 2004/38 in Recchi, 2015, 45). Resultantly, this transactionalist focus on free movement of persons within the EU discourse as the sine qua non of the mutually beneficial freedoms of membership "constructs different categories of people in relation to their ability to move within the EU for employment purposes. The references to 'national' and 'Community' manpower establish these two as the categories that benefit from a right of free movement in the EU" as opposed to citizens of non-Union countries, who do not share in them (Kostadinova, 2013, 270).²⁴ Taking the above qualifications into account, the contemporary incarnation of the EU discourse, therefore, does not only encompass claims for affective identification with Europe through

²³ While other freedoms, such as the free movement of goods or capital, can also be argued as being in the mutual benefit of the Member States, the vast majority of individuals in the EU are not likely to make direct use of -- and thus perceive direct benefit from -- them. In this sense, the freedom of movement of persons is considered to represent the most concrete beneficial right of EU membership to the broader public. Further, in context of the increasingly liberalized, transnational global economic environment, mechanisms such as free trade areas have become relatively common.

²⁴ In cases such as with the EU, calls for supranational economic patriotism exist amid a regional market which is not largely integrated, resulting in EU level calls for a drive toward market liberalization with the end goal being protection of the regional market as a whole placing its benefit of members over non-members (Clift and Woll, 2012).

appeals to a mere ideological 'normative goodness' of neoliberal market integration as justified by a nominal label of market-based citizenship, as would be the case if a purely functionalist rationale still prevailed (Bellamy, 2008, 599-601). Instead, the appeal made by the EU discourse to identification with a the supranational unit is based, more specifically, on an assertion of commonality of benefits in interaction, which argues for the accordance of economic solidarity ties of equal opportunity (as opposed to outright equality) in a competitive single market. Thus, according to this supranational discursive rationale, all citizens of EU Members are placed in a privileged position over non-EU members. However, as I will argue, what remains an interest-based, discursive call for the accordance of EU-level solidarity ties remains at odds with the national basis by which some non-mobile publics have continued to conceive of their own identities and thus perceive of their interest as in terms of state-based barrier retention.

The discord between the supranational character of the EU and the state-based nature of national identity conceptions is connected to policy-making on both the national and supranational levels of governance. Despite the EU's interest-based rationale for identification with Europe, changes in policy have occurred without changing the national publics' underlying views of how a system affected by that policy should work. Instead, "*the adaptive pressure coming from the EU combined with strategic 'usages of Europe' by agents do not suffice to produce any deep Europeanization of national structures*" or alteration to national identity conceptions. (Coman and Crespy, 2014, 51).²⁵ This situation is seemingly at odds with the rationale by which the existential nature of the EU institutions is justified and explained through the prediction of an interest-based affection of supranational solidarity creation in a single

²⁵ The italicization is original to the quote.

market. The EU discourse has failed to bear out the fomentation of a ‘European’ identity on national levels. The lack of recognition of transactionalist, mutually beneficial interactions through participation in a common EU labor and services market carries significant implications (Kuhn, 2015). The extent, or deepness, of European identity formation can constrain, in turn, possible avenues for further EU integration, despite actual incentives (Kuhn and Recchi, 2013). The persistent growth of the EU integration process in the absence of change in the identity conceptions of national publics -- as provided for in the EU rationale -- is what presents the opportunity for the inducement of resistance to integration with regard to the free movement of persons. Thus, it is argued that it is useful to understand the ‘constraining dissensus’ as resulting from a clash between the interest-based discourse used to justify integration on the EU level, and persistence of national identity-based interests extant within Member-State populaces.

The interest-based rationale of the EU discourse: An appeal for identity formation

The existence of a clash between the interest-based discourse of the EU and the identities of its citizens provides the beginning of a useful ideational framework for explaining how the free movement of persons is serving to foment resistance to EU integration. Yet, the exact grounding of the EU interest-based discourse is relevant in pinpointing how it argues for identity formation across Member States. Free movement of persons stands to conflict with conceptions of national citizenship as related to issues of economic and social rights amid supranational market liberalization, the latter of which requires breaking down some barriers of the nation-state by EU institutions (Rosamond, 2012). As a result, the EU serves as an authority over a single market that remains “composed of economic nationalists” and justifies its calls for solidarity in terms of those interests (Pickel, 2003, 109). However, this does not explain how increased

beneficial interactions between citizens of Member States have not led to supranational affection between national populaces, as argued for by the EU transactionalist discourse, especially in the aftermath of the Eastern Expansions. Further, confining the EU's integrative rationale to commonality of economically nationalistic interests between states does not take into account the activity of, and resistance against, the supranational entities. Instead, it is maintained here that it is relatively more illuminating to regard the idea of the clash occurring in light of a claim for the widening of the normative scope of economic patriotism by the EU discourse. While allowing for the situation in which identity-based ties of solidarity regarding market access may continue to rest at the level of the nation-state amongst national publics, the concept of economic patriotism also remains “agnostic about the precise nature of the unit claimed as *Patrie*” (Clift and Woll, 2012, 308).²⁶ This conceptual openness better accommodates claims made by EU level discourse regarding formation of supranational identity. It accounts for the possibility that solidarity on the level of the EU could theoretically foment supranational identity conceptions, grounded on the level of interests in the single market. Alternatively, said affection could remain extant on a level at or *below* that of the state, while still being receptive to the interest-based discourse. According to this aspect of the EU discourse's rationale, EU citizens should come to hold the single market as a level of patriotic affection on the basis of common, net-beneficial interaction. Thus, they should favor (or at least not problematize) liberal market integration, as part of an at least somewhat rationalist decision process (ibid). Instead, the more frequent interactions provided for by imposition of integrative measures have increasingly prompted Member State publics to opt for barrier retrenchment.

²⁶ The italicization is original to the quote.

Of course, it is possible to argue that these increased resistances still do find their basis in interests. This is due to the possibility that existing affections of economic patriotism may continue to exist, mostly on the national level (Clift and Woll 2013; Solt, 2011). Thus, national economic patriotism could stand to hinder the creation of larger solidarity ties on the supranational level; Member State populations are not willing to sacrifice anything in the national interest for the benefit of the larger whole. However, this is not the case. The concept of economic patriotism -- which the EU discourse of common net-benefit can be said to represent -- maintains that the creation of affective identity is accomplished through the setting up of "solidaristic institutions of welfare" (Clift and Woll, 2012, 335). Yet, it is alternatively possible that national identity is an antecedent necessity for affective solidarity to be accorded to those institutions (Carey, 2002; Clarke and Fink, 2008). Nation-state identities have a longer historical development, which, in Europe, came into being mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries, *before* solidaristic governmental institutions were created (Drozdowski, 2014; Kumar, 2003; Wolczuk, 2000; Zhang, 2014). Thus, common identity may be the root cause for the creation of patriotic affection to a certain level of governance, not the other way around.

Identity's influence on interest perceptions and their reinforcement in public discourse

Linked with the EU's continued advancement of a discourse of identity construction through mutual benefit in a single market, is the issue of national public perceptions of the legitimacy of this line of logic in justifying its integrative power. If public identities continue to reflect the primacy of national identity in socio-economic solidarity, they may regard the supranational institutions' imposition of deregulatory measures as unfair and/or illegitimate despite actual benefits of free movement. As a result, supranational, interest-oriented appeals for

a European solidarity in opportunity, addressed to a not yet existent European public sphere, would not constitute an effective or relevant argument for the engenderment of an affective, EU-wide, market identity (Rosamond, 2014).²⁷ Instead, the EU-level argument for the benefits of free movement as a basis for accordance of affection to a supranational patriotic unit remains a discourse in search of a collective European identity to support it (Clift and Woll, 2012). The EU is lacking in this regard while continuing to hold and use authority (ibid). In this sense, publics may ignore or reject Union invocations of interest-based appeals for a European 'patriotic unit' -- based on common interests -- as a rationale for further integration by said bodies. As will be maintained, such appeals and measures clash with identity-based, state-level interest perceptions regarding the legitimacy of the EU to shepherd Member States in the direction of supranationally liberal market integration.²⁸

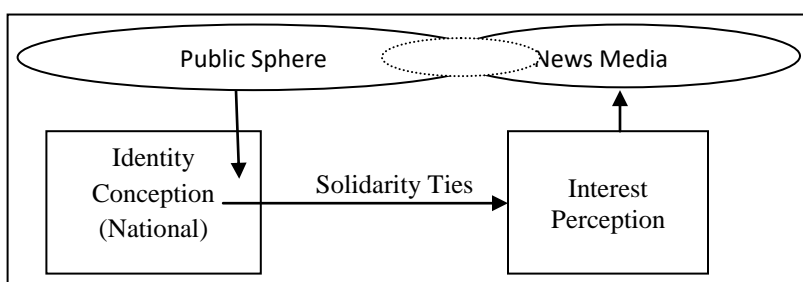
Significantly, with regard to the EU's discursive appeals for a supranational patriotic unit, it is important to point out that the concept of economic patriotism has been discussed primarily as an instrumentally interest-based phenomenon within political economy, in accordance with which, identities should be based on rational interests. However, to address the interest-identity relationship in this way does not address possible sources of the construction of citizens' *perceived* interests. It also fails to take into account how identity and interests can influence each other and may even be construed in a co-constitutive manner; "perceived

²⁷ According to Rosamond, the unconvincing nature of the EU's discursive rationale for supranational market solidarity is telling, considering the fact that the acceptability of such arguments can serve as a barometer for whether an idea or perception has become "sedimented and naturalized in public discourse" (2014, 138).

²⁸ As liberal market integration constituted a founding purpose of the European institutions, failing to do so would, within the supranational paradigm, constitute a self-reflective, existential legitimacy crisis; thus making it difficult for those institutions to respond to public concerns or resistance to integration by taking a disintegrative tack, which would necessarily conflict with their founding ideals (Rosamond, 2012).

instrumental interests can only explain the variation [in outcomes] *in conjunction* with the other factors” which largely includes citizens’ already existing identity constructions (Marcussen et al., 1999, 629). Thus, the co-constitutive nature of perceived national identities and interests requires the “assumption of mutually constitutive social action as a significant factor towards the construction of identity, and therefore interest and behavior in global politics” in order to better clarify from whence perceived interests have been constructed (Christiansen, Jorgensen and Wiener, 1999, 535). With specific regard to integration processes, each concept informs the other, often in a mutually self-reinforcing way. Thus, identity conceptions and interest perceptions have the potential to remain rather immutable in the face of incremental change within the relevant institutional environments (Marcussen et al., 1999).

Fig 1: Identity’s circular influence on solidarity ties and interest perception



The mere mention of a slow-to-change relationship between constructed collective identity and perceived social-economic interests says little about the exact nature of this relationship with regard to the linkages by which each may affect the other. While, thus far, I have mentioned solidarity-tie accordance as flowing from mutual benefit within the logic of the EU discourse, this is ineffectual if perceptions of interest-based benefit flow from identity conception in the first instance. Beyond this, ties of solidarity can more revealingly be understood in terms of identity conception, running as an intermediary, directionally from the

construction of citizens' affective national identities to their perception of socio-economic interests, which are thus informed by the former and then discussed within the public sphere. This is due to the fact that forces of globalization and regional integration can alter cultural identities by making them relatively more European in a strictly cultural sense without proffering any "opportunities for creating new solidarities" among groups on the basis of new spaces of communication (Van Ham, 2013). Moreover, if as implied by the logic of the EU-level discourse, a main source of an affective European identity creation is developed through the opportunity to "positively interact on a regular basis with people from other European countries with whom one has a basis for solidarity... [In reality] those who have this opportunity tend to be the most privileged strata of society" (Fligstein, 2009, 133; Kuhn, 2012). Thus, as will be discussed later in greater detail, individuals who are mobile and interact substantively with other Europeans are those who already have the educational and material 'resources' that allow them to take advantage of free movement and, thus, to be more open to perceiving benefit from their mobility as a part of de-nationalization.

The above point highlights the fact that national identity is not homogeneous; indeed, it can vary insofar as it is also "influenced by factors such as social status, political party identification, regional and/or ethnic origin and so on" (Wodak et al., 2009, 188). Of course, certain other iterations of a given individual's self-concept may make his or her national identity more 'permeable' to outside influences. However, this does negate that solidaristic allegiance given to a (often national) patriotic unit, as flowing from identity conception, remains an especially strong aspect of that identity's construction. Said allegiance directly affects how citizens perceive of their social interest (Medrano, 2010). Still, this constructivist approach to identity formation has been viewed as a possible enabling factor for the creation of a European

identity (ibid; Risse, 2010) While identity remains important in the first instance, it is a conception of differing, nationally demarcated identities through which consequences of integration are conceived. Instead of allowing for the creation of a constructed European identity, resultant interest perceptions may be construed so as to clash with the EU interest-based discourse regarding the lifting of state-based social solidarity barriers. As will be argued, according to this framework, free movement of persons is framed, where popular discourse is apparent, not as a solidarity-creating, mutually beneficial right, made possible as part of the integration process, but instead only as instrumental to perceived interests of (or, indeed, against) members of the 'nation'.

The activation of EU resistance through identity conceptions of national societies

The EU discourse can be said to represent a call of supranational affection based on transactionalist-style interactions in the single market. However, this says little about which national identities may decline to perceive benefit from them, or to countenance this discourse of common benefit. As mentioned above, it is obvious that national identities within states remain inhomogeneous in different ways. Resultantly, activation of resistance to EU integration in light of right of free movement will become more evident within certain discourses of national publics, warranting qualification of the most relevant national discourse for analysis of the discourse/identity clash. To this end, the understanding of national discourses regarding the EU as occurring along an "integration-demarcation cleavage" becomes useful (Kriesi et. al., 2006; 2008, 11). According to this division, those who perceive of themselves as being at a net loss flowing from integration, would be more likely to opt for national 'demarcation', or the re-entrenchment of national boundaries, than those who perceive of themselves as benefitting from

integration. According to the integration-demarcation cleavage, it is argued that when defining those who are more likely to consider themselves as 'losers' of the processes of globalization and de-nationalization implied by supranational integration, "*mobility* becomes the most powerful factor of social stratification. On one hand, there are those who are mobile, because they control convertible resources allowing them to exit, and on the other hand, there are those who remain locked in, because they lack these resources" and are therefore more likely to cling to national affection such as it colors interest perception (2008, 5).

When identifying which discourses within Member States would choose to opt for the demarcation side of the cleavage, it is tempting to problematize the discursive stance of populist rhetorics. Such sentiment has been pointed to as championing the cause of those who feel that they stand to lose from integration along national lines, due to some form of urgent threat (Dolezal and Hutter, 2012; Kriesi, 2014; Wodak, 2015). With regard to the existence of the integration-demarcation cleavage in national discourses, this focus could be especially relevant as the latter part of said cleavage has both national as well as socio-economic aspects, which tend to be reflected according to the traditional right-left political dividing lines (Kriesi et. al., 2006). Yet, this does little to address exactly how a certain populist group would perceive 'the nation' as at a net-loss from the destruction of national barriers. Therefore, the stance that the relevant national discourses evolve along traditional ideological lines of right-wing versus left-wing populism remains oversimplified and does not account for other, more diffuse forms of non-elite sentiment, especially the advent of so-called 'centrist' populism, which often puts the interests of the 'nation' foremost, while not fitting cleanly onto one side of the aisle, in terms of its demands

(Ucen, 2007).²⁹ Taking stock of such developments remains important. They represent a "clear representation opening" that populist parties can exploit as individuals move away from their traditionally held political positions, bringing populist views more into the mainstream.

(Rohrschneider and Whitefield, 2015, 21). Further, because one of the characteristics of populist rhetoric is that it tends to justify its platform on the basis of interests of the 'national in-group', it represents a particularly resilient character of identity-based, EU resistance (Dunn, 2012). Within such discourses, EU market-making integration will always be perceived as inappropriate, due to the fact that outcomes flowing from it could always be seen as inadequate as best; they could always possibly have been even more in the national interest, with little regard to 'reasonable' expectations, or fairness to national 'out-groups'.

Therefore, qualifying the relevant discourse as populist is too narrow for the explanation of why the move towards this discourse would occur. A slightly broader focus is needed: one on *popular* as opposed to specifically *populist* stances. As Laclau notes, this tenor of discourse, while not exclusive of the populist, also includes within it discourse that could become blurred into populist rhetoric through the accentuation of discourses wherein "unsatisfied demands...[create] the conditions leading to a populist rupture" (2005, 38). Such a distinction is important as it takes into account the possibility for this process of 'populization' occurring, for instance, whereby those "who have been frustrated in their request for better transportation find that their neighbors are equally unsatisfied in their claims at the levels of security, water supply, housing, schooling and so on, some kind of solidarity will arise between them all: All will share

²⁹ It should be noted here that the concept of centrist populism does *not* imply that parties or movements of this nature are centrist in the sense that they are rather neutral in their policies, but rather that they tend to mix populist-style claims from the more extreme right and left.

the fact that their demands remain unsatisfied...[such that] all of the demands, in spite of their differential character, tend to reaggregate themselves" around a non-substantive dissatisfaction, directed toward a populist-style scapegoat that becomes immediately threatening (37).³⁰ Thus, any discussion of appeals in popular discourse must be about more than the interest-based desirability of "specific economic promises (i.e. the promise of equal opportunity)" implied by the EU-level discourse, but instead should concern "'audience making'" in terms of how the identity-based universalism created by it "is related to its outside", thus possibly building into or reiterating in nationalist claims regarding 'in' and 'out' groups (Ettman and Whitney in Staheli, 2013, 9). Thus, popular discourse bears problematization as the discursive strand in which national identity stands to clash most directly with the EU interest-based discourse. Given its focus on dissatisfaction, sentiments of the perceived 'losers' of de-nationalization are likely to be apparent in it. Yet, the qualification of the discourse itself has little to say regarding where and how the national 'losers' of integration's identity-based perceptions regarding their interests are discussed so as to reinforce those national identity conceptions.

Capturing the discourse/identity clash within the public discourse

Although solidarity ties may influence perception of social interests based on identity construction, the question remains: In what way do these identity-based interests change, or fail to do so? Although discourse within public spheres has traditionally been viewed as an aspect of civil society, mainly focused on or about the actions of the state, this does not address the prospect that the public sphere has the power to not only "form culture" but more importantly to

³⁰ This idea of demand aggregation in the form of "*equivalential chains*" as an aspect of popular discourse provides a possible explanation for the ability of what are in fact disparate criticisms of the EU integration to become conflated or vaguely connected in these rightist national discourses (ibid).

forge “social relationships [such that it] could constitute a form of social solidarity” (Calhoun, 2005, 265).³¹ Thus understanding the public sphere as a space for the continual creation of identity allows a window through which discourse within Europe’s national mass-mediated societies can influence -- or reinforce -- the solidarity affections of its members. Within this realm, discourse can attain the power to “perpetuate, reproduce or justify a certain social status quo (and national identities related to it)” (Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999, 157). Thus, in order to understand the manner in which the discourse/identity clash is occurring, it is necessary to examine the manner in which issues related to integration are addressed and can be captured within the relevant discourse in Member States’ spheres of discussion, such that the identities which resonate with popular rhetoric in them fail to accord solidarity to other members of the single market.

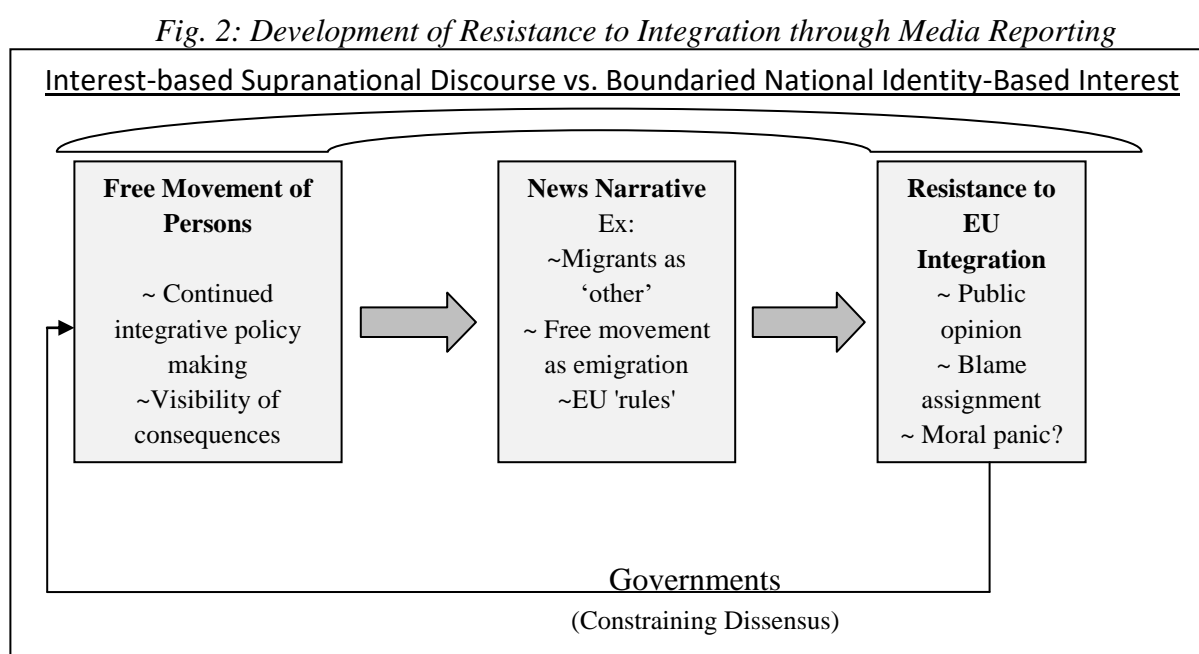
This presence of identity-based interest perceptions within public discourse helps to explain the mechanism through which the clash between supranational discourse and national identities becomes activated. Within the context of an increasing impasse between the discourse used by the EU to justify implementation of the single market amid persistence of national identity, national political leaders have come under increasing constraints within the context of EU integration, while still needing to be seen to respond to the demands of their electorates. The manner in which they do so is clearly connected with a country’s discursive views of the supranational market regarding its “normative principles that should guide resource allocation” (Morin and Carta, 2014, 120). Because of this, it has been argued elsewhere that such exigencies

³¹ Calhoun mentions this connection with the idea of solidarity as relating to constitutional patriotism and Europe. However, this concept does not allow for the fact that national identity can also be more complex than a contestable set of accepted rules and norms. Additionally, the idea that identity can be necessarily connected with a rather immutable ‘constitution’ seems rather simplistic.

may induce national leaders to avoid being caught in the middle of the said conflict by engaging in discourse of national barrier (re)entrenchment related to the shape of their country's economy, while then relying largely on the EU to make their claims irrelevant (Clift and Woll, 2012). In light of the clash between supranational discourse and national identity conceptions, with regard to free movement of persons, the implications of dissonance between communicative discourse and political action are striking: official public discourse within national public spheres could serve to reinforce national identity conceptions, thus bringing resultant constructions of national solidarity-influenced interests into increasing conflict with the supranational solidaristic discourse of the continuing European project (Hobolt and Tilley, 2014). However, while the above may be true, focusing only on 'top-down' discourse in terms of motivations for communication strategies of officials proves difficult to access, as it remains difficult to discern motives behind certain statements or whether they have had the intended effect in the minds of their audience (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004). Further, because discourses, as viewed through the lens of economic patriotism, would take interests as the antecedent point for examination of communicative action, the concept has remained useful for identifying some basis for the EU discourse. But, precisely because of this, it is conceptually incongruent with attempting to hint at the identity-based solidarity conception behind interests. Instead, when analyzing state-based debates, what is needed is a manner in which a snapshot of identity-based public discourse regarding integration can be taken and analyzed within the broader public sphere of a mass-mediated society.

The presence of the EU discourse/national identity clash in popular debate means that the nature of the institutional settings of that discourse itself become of relevance. Beyond its content, the aspect of discourse I have addressed thus far, the notion of discourse carries aspects

encompassing where and when who says what to whom and how that idea is communicated "in the process of policy construction and political communication in the 'public sphere'" (Schmidt, 2008, 310). Within this, two separate types of discourse within the public sphere can be delineated: a coordinative verity through which strategic policy decisions are taken directly and a communicative one regarding those policies and their perceived consequences in general society (ibid).



This understanding entails that the supranational discourse of mutual-benefit in a single market is relatively more relevant or credible in coordinating discourse between EU institutions and some elements of national governments, even if the latter may take part in it as an overtly pragmatic necessity. However, the separate communicative discourse between national governments and their electorates remains defined by an identity-based construction of interest perception in terms of social solidarity and therefore more constitutes space in which the clash between these national identity-interest constructions and the EU integrative rationale is evident.

Supporting this, Kriesi et al. have noted mainstream parties in government have pursued rather pliant strategies with regard to the implementation of European directives, sometimes despite rhetoric, while that of more populist parties tend to be sometimes incoherent or unrealistic when explaining their stance toward aspects of EU integration (2006). This would seem to imply that the manner in which implementation of EU policy is accomplished on the national level runs from coordinating discourse regarding frictions of said policy with national systems, while a communicative discourse regards mass opinion (re)formation over perceived or anticipated affects of those EU policies (Schmidt, 2012). Thus, "The lack of connection between spheres of discourse is a frequent occurrence in the European Union," creating an especially large opportunity for "'happy talk' or 'spin' to obscure what political leaders are really doing" and actual consequences from debate in the public sphere (Schmidt, 2008, 311-2). Additionally, persistence of national identity-based interest perceptions in shaping communicative discourse may be responsible for a dearth of "legitimizing ideas as well as persuasive discourse in promoting (or not) public acceptance of the European Union" (2010, 12) as the EU discourse of mutual benefit in free movement is often not taken up in public spheres. Flowing from this, it seems evident that communicative discourses in national societies are more relevant for discerning evidence of the EU discourse/national identity clash. In what follows, I discuss how the communicative discourse is bundled up, framed and influenced in the form of a narrative within the public sphere through the conduit of the news media. Drawing, in part, on the literature from the field of framing analysis in communication studies, it is argued that awareness of news-narrative storytelling structures in the construction of threatening deviance is necessary in order to explain how news can portray or exclude the EU discourse so as to bring it to clash with national identity-based interests in the form of a narrative.

Role of Deviance in Moral Panic and the Crisis-Conflict-Resolution Narrative of News

In the following material, how national identity conceptions may flag certain events regarding EU integration as deviant -- or even negatively threatening -- so as to incite moral panic is analyzed. What national identity conceptions view as deviant does not rule out that certain facts or occurrences that have significant negative consequences could be flagged as negatively deviant in the abstract. However, the lens of exclusive national identities may also allow for the possibility that events which conflict with these identity-based interest perceptions are viewed as threatening, despite actual positive consequences. As such, the concept of deviance can serve as a tool with which to back out how events framed in public discourse may serve to arouse public resistance to integration in light of the free movement of persons. Further, it is argued that the news media acts as a conduit through which events and issues are concretely framed in the form of a narrative, so as to resonate with intended audiences. Thus it reflects the character of national identity conception. Within news narrative, such deviant events are taken up and reported in the form of valenced narratives according to set formats that are needed to give reports coherence and narrative drive. As such, the reportage of news outlets can act as a locus within the public sphere where national identity's shaping of interest perceptions is both visible and reinforced.

As mentioned above, the discourse regarding the evolution of a certain topic includes not only ideas themselves, but also how and by whom they are expressed purposefully within temporal context. The news media provide a conduit through which such discourse can be communicated to national publics and whereby the response can serve to constrain coordinating discourse (Koopmans and Statham, 2010). This means that journalism has long played a decisive role in "the battle of ideas with regard to the policy questions of the day" (Schmidt, 2008, 305).

The positioning of news outlets within the public discourse has developed innately as the media “frames, shapes and packages information and in this function exerts a large and sometimes determinate influence in shaping citizens opinions” (Chambers, 2009, 341). When journalists produce a news report, they do so by bundling together certain discrete bits of 'reality' into the form of a coherent story. News, therefore, is not simply apparent facts, but frames that consist of both micro aspects of the information that reports do (and do not) include, *and* macro narrative aspects of how those pieces of information in news stories relate to one another (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Through the consistent framing with constructive elements of individual news items on the micro level of individual news stories, news outlets also have the ability to not only define how polities conceive the shape of larger issues in the public sphere, but also prime them to adopt certain attitudes toward a given actor's responsibility for causing and/or resolving an ongoing deviant threat to the normality of perceived national interest. Here, how the lens of national identity shapes interest is important insofar as the selection of which events are considered deviant so as to constitute newsworthiness. News narrative can report events that have actual, significant negative consequences as threatening on a factual basis (Esser and Matthes, 2015). However, if national identity and the solidarity ties accorded by them are primary, events that clash with them may be flagged simply for their inducement of visceral emotive reaction on the part of news consumers with little relation to contextualized facts related to them (Kim and Cameron, 2011). Instead of a cost-benefit analysis based on apparent factual interests, identity, thus, may lead news discourse to promote visible events that are seen to be deviant from national barriers and thus are reported on as automatically threatening in a self-evident manner for their evocation of emotional reaction (Lecheler, Schuck and De Vreese, 2013). Possibly, this tendency could build certain groupings of events into full blown moral

panic, in which national identity-based barriers are seen to be threatened and are therefore reinforced as 'normal'. In the same sense, the emotive reaction accorded by violation of the 'normalcy' of national identity may make the EU discourse regarding factual common benefits seem irrelevant or even self-evidently un-credible.

Therefore, the manner in which I speak of both 'framing in news' and 'narrative' is different from other approaches taken in the past. Others have chosen to address these two concepts in a broader, cognitive sense which encompasses how auto-narratives regarding nationhood are used to frame or reflect upon personal attitudes toward EU integration, taken as outward representations of "frames in thought" of the people who produced news as actors, rather than "frames in communication" intended to resonate with national societies (Druckman, 2001, 227-8; Medrano, 2003; Eder, 2009). However, I argue that a more specific focus, namely on how EU-related issues are framed in a valenced manner (i.e. positively or negatively) so as to define (or reproduce) the emotive character of a given narrative, is needed in order to sharpen attention on the role of the media in shaping or re-producing perceptions of free movement within the public sphere (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).

In terms of what specific events would stand to clash with national identity-based interest constructions, the concept of deviance bears further contextualization. The idea of deviance from normalcy is important, especially as reported in the news of the mass-mediated public sphere; its accentuation has the power to build certain series of 'deviant,' threatening events into issues of 'moral panic'. The latter term can be thought of as a specific form of narrative in which its stages can be defined collectively as an "episode", that, in terms "of outcry, soul searching, and social reaction - [has a] troubling form of...deviance at its center" (Garland, 2008, 12). However,

simply because only certain aspects of an event are deviant from national interest does not mean that it will be reported as worthy of inciting a full-blown moral panic. Instead, the concept of deviance can be thought of as constituting newsworthiness, as certain aspects of an event are perceived to have the power to possibly affect (i.e. deviate from) an audience's identity-based perceived interest (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994).³² Thus, moral panics can "arise out of considerable moral disturbances rooted in significant structural and value changes within society" such as would be evidenced by the lifting of national barriers in processes of regionalization in some instances (Young, 2009). Perceived deviance of an event in terms of one or more aspects of a news story is, therefore, necessary for the indication of public (possibly positive) attentiveness or disgruntlement regarding an event, in terms of it constituting a possible crisis-causing 'signal-crime' (Kim and Cameron 2011; Innes, 2004). But, it is not sufficient for the causation of an outright moral panic, which, through the assignation of responsibility, produces "scapegoats whose deviant conduct appalls onlookers so powerfully precisely because it relates to personal fears and unconscious wishes" and thereby suggests incitement of a call to action as necessary for a return to normalcy (Garland, 2008, 15). Necessarily, who or what is deviant is dependent upon the self-concept of the individual or group assigning the label. Over time, this is significant; once a deviant group or type of occurrence is "type cast, [its] acts are interpreted in terms of the status which [it] has been assigned," thus serving to create narrative issues and reinforce identity conceptions (Cohen, 2002, 3). In turn, deviance is not assigned at random, but instead takes its inspiration from, essentially, identity-based interest perceptions of

³² The 'moral panic' approach to media framing has been criticized for making insufficient distinction between public opinion and media discourse (Cricher, 2003, 137-8). However, as will be mentioned below, news stories are selected and reported in such a manner so that they will be found relevant to perceived audiences (Van Dijk, 1988, 86)

visible interactions with an 'other' (ibid). The role of this perceptual lens has stark implications in relation to EU-level discourse regarding the benefits of integration as evidenced by mutually net-beneficial outcomes of the free movement of persons. When viewed through the context of national identity, the visibility of such interactions may themselves be interpreted as deviating negatively from normative boundaries in terms of interest accorded by national identity and, in some cases, through the assignment of blame, standing to constitute moral disgust or panic as the discourse/identity clash becomes more fully activated.

In relation to the concept of deviance as a means by which the positive or negative 'narrative side' is assigned in news reports, the above is significant. Although reporting on supposedly 'real' occurrences, mass-mediated news has the power to interpret events such that the deviant role of certain aspects of given events become "self-fulfilling [meaning that]...fantasy is translated into reality" through the narrative contextualization of concrete developments or actions over time, giving rise to the creation of issues (Young, 2009, 7). With specific regard to the news media, this tendency has led some to maintain that, "Moral panics, once the unintended outcome of journalistic practice, seem to have become a goal" (McRobbie and Thornton, 1995, 560). Although the possibility for news outlets' ownership or editorial staff to actively attempt to create moral panics over certain issues can by no means be ruled out, the means by which they do so -- internationally or otherwise -- may, in fact, be an inescapable aspect of news reporting. Although the language of moral panic has become relatively more used to describe sociological effects of news framing in recent years, news framing can also provide " prototypes...or templates... key events provide a frame for subsequent events" (Cricher, 2003, 140). As is argued below, this results in a need for journalists to report news items according to a narrative format with a clear beginning, middle and end in order to give events -- and the issues of which

they become a part -- cogent drive; this means that the assignment of negative deviance to some of its storytelling components, and thereby, narrative elements, remains unavoidable. Thus, the concept of deviance can be thought of as mediating between the ideational level of discourse/identity clash activation and its narrative manifestation in the media.

While the assignment of threatening, negative deviance to certain aspects of events in reporting provides a basis for how cultural identity-based perceptions can define the shape of a certain issue positively or negatively to a given public, this pays insufficient attention to by which process it does so (Van Dijk, 2015). Going forward, I construct an analytical framework by which news can be examined as a storytelling narrative. In doing so, I take stock of other frame content analyses and typologies, many of which have said much about what topics or structures are present in news. But, while acknowledging that news does have a temporal element, these structures may disregard the narrative process by which this framing occurs. Across these content-specific frames or structures, the necessity for journalists to select and format individual stories in terms of a crisis-conflict-resolution narrative structure will be elaborated in order to illuminate the interplay between the use of CCR storytelling format in individual stories and the tendency of this format to create larger crisis-oriented conflictual issues within the public discourse. Through this, situational aspects of what exactly constitutes a deviant threat in terms of the crisis, conflict or 'resolution' of an event on the micro level -- and of an issue on the macro plane of reference -- will be highlighted.

The Crisis – From beginning a story to constructing an ongoing issue

In order for a news story to have a narrative drive, instead of simply representing an eclectic amalgam of static frames or facts, it is obvious that it must have a beginning, middle and

end. As such, the news media acts not only as a source of information but also as “the principal weaver of life-narratives and storyteller of the human condition, [which] supplies the cognitive frames and patterns with which ...the acutely felt torments of existential insecurity are comprehended” (Bauman, 2002, 59). In fulfilling this role, the crisis element of news storytelling can be understood as a report’s setting out to position a certain event as causing a problem or change -- a possible signal crime that audiences can recognize as deviant and will thus find relevant (Althiede, 1997). Thus, it is not enough to examine frames within news only by labeling them as viewing an issue through the lens of a neutral topic. Instead, frames inherently have valence, or are positively or negatively related to that problem in terms of a narrative (Schuck and De Vreese, 2006; De Vreese, 2010). These problems often become of salience as the concrete events that they represent have at least the possibility to disagree with a national society’s identity-based normative interest conceptions and thus become personally ‘alarming’ -- or crisis-oriented -- in nature within the news narrative (Innes, 2004). Thus, the causation of crisis can be thought of as constituting deviance such that it is both relevant and negatively related to the departure from normalcy.

However, reporting events as crisis-problems can also have wider implications than merely shaping public perceptions or debates regarding a single event. As Innes writes, the aggregation of reported crisis-oriented events has the power to frame or even create a certain issue within society as a first-instance cause of deviance. Such signals in reports perform a broader “‘framing’ function for individuals in terms of how they interpret and define their co-present encounters and experiences” (Innes, 2004, 351). As a result, events related to the broader subject of migration in context of other consequences of integration in the EU may be understood in news reports as causing problems or changes that may deviate from national

interest perception and thus clash in terms of relevance or credibility with the EU pro-single market discourse. Thus, while some have understood the concept of crisis as confined only to a discrete event or as a process, deviant events can be understood as acting as crises, which can lead to their conversion into a topical narrative about which more information is well received by audiences for its reduction of uncertainty (Hay, 1999; K, Cross and Ma, 2015). As such, this conceptualization of crisis, constructed through events flagged as deviant in terms of national identity conceptions, encompasses both individual events and the narratives of which those events become a part. This occurs as news workers know that audiences find certain issue narratives more salient. Thus, journalists may portray the broad issue of EU migration as being a 'continual crisis' through the continued reporting of further crisis-events related to it (Bauman, 2002). Doing so reinforces national conceptions of the normalcy of state-based identity boundaries and thus, which series of events is representative of issues that are to be considered 'problematic' or 'deviant'. As such, they constitute emotive signal crimes that may even constitute the beginnings of a 'moral panic' for their violation of perceived national interest as a resulting issue-narrative continues (Altheide, 2002; 2009).^{33 34} Especially, this can be the case among news-consuming demographics that have lower levels of "political sophistication" (De Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006, 30). Further, those exposed to news on a certain dimension of governance can be primed to judge an actor's effectiveness based on the criteria of that issue

³³ Altheide elaborates that 'moral panic' can refer to any crisis-event or issue that constitutes not only a deviation from normalcy but also constitutes a threat to individuals or the society in which they live (2009). Additionally, he points out that newspapers tend to better lend themselves to the portrayal of ongoing crises as 'moral panics' due to their greater ability to define the shape of the issue (ibid).

³⁴ Because migration resulting from the free movement of persons can be mentioned as a facet in a wide variety of subjects, it may be portrayed in a negative light as a part of one type of event or issue, while not constituting a moral panic itself, or being negatively related to the crisis itself.

(Chong and Druckman, 2007). Thus, if reports reference events related to EU migration or integration as causing salient, if not specific, problems, for national politics or economies (e.g. violating identity-based perceived interests) it would lend credence to the proposition that said reports prime national publics to regard those apparent consequences of migration, in context of other obligations of integration, as resultant from issues presented as crises caused by the EU institutions. Thus, this stage reinforces the idea of 'normalcy' of national identity and the solidarity ties it accords, while reflecting audiences' attentiveness to such issues and still remaining agnostic about their solution.

The Conflict – From driving the narrative of an event to defining the sides of the issue

Within the literature regarding media framing, many typologies of frames have been developed which correspond to types of news stories in different ways. Many of these are related to various subjects or topics on which the media regularly produces reports (De Vreese, 2005). It is true that news reports do apply topical lenses through which issues can be viewed. However, with relation to the crisis-conflict-resolution storytelling format, Iyengar has pointed convincingly -- across these frames -- to the tendency of the news media to frame nearly all stories in thematically “episodic” terms, thus meaning that each story would require formatting some form of the three elements in order for it to be termed as episodic narrative (Iyengar, 1991, 3). With specific regard to elements of a story which come to constitute conflict, it is important to define further what is meant by the term here. ‘Conflict’ has been used differently when discussing news framing. According to Smeteko and Valkenberg’s typology, conflict is mentioned as only one of five possible frames. However, the meaning of conflict within their typology is confined to constituting only “Conflict between individuals, groups or institutions”

(2000, 95). However, I use the term in a much broader sense: as an element of valenced story formatting. If conflict is understood as *narrative* opposition between entities or outcomes which represent normative societal conceptions regarding a subject and an aberration from that norm, it becomes clear that conflict between a deviance and normalcy aspect must be inherent in each of their other four frames.³⁵

The same is true of Neuman et al.'s typology, which also includes concrete conflict only as one possible frame. Yet, as they conclude, "the received definition of good journalistic practice...emphasizes telling 'both sides of the story' and the impulse to put together an interesting narrative -- if possible, with good guys and bad guys -- leads to a heavy media emphasis on forces in conflict" (1992, 64-66). The rest of their discussion of the typology suggests that the other typologies can be understood in terms of conflict between a 'normal/positive us', or in-group, and 'deviant/negative other', or out-group. Even when 'good' or 'bad' actors are not explicitly involved in a story or issue, some narrative element of contested outcome or argument still remains no matter the topic or technical structuring of a news report; otherwise the report would lack coherence (Johnson-Cartee, 2005).³⁶ Indeed, while speaking of both frames of 'conflict' and 'economic consequences' De Vreese notes the "universal nature of the conflict frame" such as it is part of a narrative format as opposed to a neutral topical frame

³⁵ The other four 'attribution of responsibility', 'morality' 'economic consequences' and 'human interest' as they mean them are all conflict-oriented in nature in that they imply that an event falling into any of these categories would have to have a side that is 'out of the ordinary', leading it to deviate from or threaten publics' normative conceptions of normalcy in order to be considered of interest as newsworthy.

³⁶ In greater detail, Johnson-Cartee defines narrative as "a fully fleshed-out story with characters, scene descriptions, conflict(s), actions with motives, and, ultimately resolutions" (ibid). In this can be seen the implicit interaction between the five W's and an H story components and reporting of events and, thus, issues according to crisis-conflict-resolution narrative format.

(2005, 58-9). When his 'consequences frame' was used, journalists focused on the clashing expectations or interpretations of what exactly the consequences may be in terms of narrative structure (ibid). Thus, it is also insufficient to term a story as positively or negatively addressing an issue, but also to pay attention to which actions were framed as being on which sides of that divide in temporal context.

In a similar manner to how continued reporting of crisis-events can build into the creation of a crisis-issue, understanding that issue in terms of the groups or outcomes which create the resultant conflict serves to define and replicate the debate through determining which sides it has and what side of the debate the conflicting stakeholders are on (Miller and Reichert, 2001). While this does not belie the fact that certain stakeholder groups are more successful in defining this conflict-oriented media narrative to their advantage through drawing attention to certain events or statements, it remains that a topical issue will be defined by the media in terms of how conflict occurs, or may stand to occur, between two or more sides over, or in context of, many related events (Miller and Reichert, 2000). With regard to the free movement of persons or integration, if the conflict is reported as occurring between national barriers and (illegitimate) lifting of them by the EU or pro-EU national groups, this may prime consumers of news to view the crisis-issue of intra-EU migration not only as caused in some form by the EU institutions, but also as resulting in a conflict over the 'boundaries' of society between the EU deviant discourse and the 'normal' national identity-based interests (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2009). On the other hand, if EU regulations are seen to cause crisis, while the conflict then relates to debate over domestic reaction to it, this may indicate that the EU's message of solidarity in a single market is not 'getting out' in the news. In either case, the clash would be apparent as national identity-based interest perceptions of integration's 'losers' would not accord either credibility or relevance to it.

Finally, the tendency of news to be reported in phases of deviation from normalcy, investigation of how the deviation occurred/is occurring and finally a return to equilibrium leads, in the communicative discourse, to perpetuation of “naïve beliefs and provide[s] assurance that elites can be trusted” with regard to their actions in coordinating discourse (Vincent et al. in Miller and Riechert, 2000, 48-9). As such, the use of the conflict-oriented narrative stage may contribute toward the creation of ‘moral panics’ over a variety of subjects related to integration through entrenching emotive disgruntlement with perceived possible consequences of integration. Cemented as an antagonistic side of the story or issue, the EU discourse clashes, so as to only reinforce societal conceptions of national boundary retrenchment as an issue moves toward resolution (Pijpers, 2006).

The ‘Resolution’ – From ending a report to incitement of ‘Moral Panic’?

All individual news stories require a conclusion for reasons of narrative cogency (Ekstrom, 2000). As a result, reports address the manner in which a conflict was resolved or the possible next steps of its evolution in the future. In some situations, such as news relating to sporting events or an incident of street crime, the resolution is often a concrete elimination of conflict. However, political or regulatory stories or issues tend to occur over longer periods of time than one daily news reporting cycle; therefore, a concrete resolution to an event is often absent and thus substituted in reporting with what will need to happen in the future if conflict is to be ended (Schudson, 1989; Cavender and Mulcahy, 1998). The assignment of blame and responsibility is closely connected with the above point, especially if the likely resolution is expected to deviate from the identity-based interest perceptions of audiences. News stories not only define the actors responsible for causing individual crisis-problems, they also look toward

the future resolution of issues created by the accumulation of related events by making judgments about who has, or should have, “the power to alleviate or (forestall alleviation of) the problem” (Iyengar, 1991, 8). Thus, the valenced nature of the sides in narrative takes on an implicit ideological component that is influenced by the national identity-based interest conceptions of journalists, or how they perceive of their target audiences within their respective national public spheres.

This ongoing need of issue resolution over multiple individual stories helps to not only create and define the larger issues and the debates surrounding them, but also influences and even reinforces the conceptions and opinions of national audiences. In light of media’s aforementioned propensity to prolong situations of conflict, their concurrent tendency to create resolution may appear paradoxical. If the narrative nature of reporting on larger constructed issues leads to their being formatted as in continual conflict through reporting of new event-crises, why would journalistic storytelling, at the same time, lend itself to fomenting amelioration of that crisis? The cumulative portrayal of events as characterized by ongoing deviance leads to the creation and sustainment of problematic issues. Yet, in a similar vein, the cumulative reporting of a need for resolution of events and thus the issues of which those events have become a part, can prime audiences into adopting certain issue-positions about the manner in which the an ongoing threateningly deviant crisis should be resolved. It is here that the tendency for the creation (or encouragement of) moral panic rests. Said tendency flows from reports’ “narrative form that draws attention both to the reason for the original problem and the subject position that reasonably minded members of the audience should adopt if they are to help enforce the necessary solution” (Watson, 2009, 428). By understanding the presence of the resolution element in journalistic narrative as more than just the concrete end to an event, it is

possible to see how the crisis-conflict-resolution format simultaneously paints an issue as being one of crisis that, if not resolved, is by definition *in need of* resolution through the adoption, or reinforcement of certain stances, thus constituting a call for 'social action'. At the same time, this does not mean that issues do not ever reach points of (at least temporary) resolution in journalistic reporting. As Miller and Riechert write, while one conflicting party's definition of the shape of an issue -- or discourse -- can win out over time such that "others are delegitimized and given no credence in the media and public discourse... Events that bring new factual information to the fore can break the equilibrium and place the issue back on the policy agenda" even if that issue has been rather 'quiet' for long periods of time (2001, 112). In this way, resolution is understood as providing episodic narrative closure, while acknowledging the continuance of a clashing, deviant position, which stands to threaten an often-national in-group.

The 'Five W's and an H': The Components of Storytelling within issue narrative

Above, some progress had been made towards unpacking the means by which news reporting can serve to influence positive or negative perceptions of an overall event or broad issue, which is taken up and (re-)produced through narration within the public sphere. But, less attention has been paid within the realm of political science to the processes or structures by which this occurs within individual reports. The news media provides a gate-keeping function, determining what ideas and discursive narratives regarding individual events achieve prominence within the broader discourse of the public sphere, through reporting of individual stories. The mechanics of this role are reflected in one of the most basic tenets of what is accepted as coherent journalistic storytelling: "news reports cover concrete newsworthy events—arbitrarily chunked concretes in a continuous flow of history [and therefore have] a defined structure [consisting] of the familiar

five W's and one H: who, what, when, where, why and how" as the seminal types of information that a journalist is expected to report (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, 60; Silva and Anzur, 2011). Thus, through reporting certain events in public discourse, either positively or negatively, according to these storytelling components, journalists serve to define the shape given to individual stories within the public sphere by defining an event, its relevant issues and the terms of debate (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Tankard, 2001). Journalists in Europe are themselves members of national societies and conceive their identities and roles in largely national terms, while the question of Europe has not changed the criteria used in newsrooms for selection of events as newsworthy (Statham, 2004; Heikkila and Kunelius, 2014). This remains true even if they are expected to follow a certain editorial or ideological stance, as "common schemas are the ones that form the basis for most individuals' reactions to framing communications. Elites do not have unlimited autonomy but are constrained to choosing from this cultural stock, which records the traces of past framing" (Entman, Matthes and Pillicano, 2009, 176). Given this, while it might make sense to conceive of the role of journalists and editors as actors, which work to shape public opinion, the stickiness of national identity conceptions limits prospects for their doing so (Cook, 1998; O'Neill and Harcup, 2009). The selection of events, and emotive claims made regarding them, still needs to resonate with target audiences, confining the available amount of issue narratives that are considered acceptable for application to a given report (Stenvall, 2014). Further, even if professional news workers attempt to influence perceptions of an event -- to the extent that they can -- through use of the available perceptions, the exact manner in which this is done remains necessarily "very difficult for observers -- even sociologists or reporters hanging around the newsroom -- to detect...[involved parties] have reason to keep such a contact very private"; such efforts would lose their power if they became widely confirmed (Page, 1996, 22-

3). Thus, the implicit presence of national interest perceptions in news outlets' reporting serves to influence their attribution of the newsworthy salience of individual events and their 'good' and 'bad' aspects which can be analyzed within the discursive framework of the five W's and an H storytelling components and then built into issue-narratives.

Below, I describe the manner in which these six components can reflect the character of the EU discourse/national identity clash within individual news stories through taking a narrative approach to news framing, in terms of the issues manifested in news. First, however, I should note that journalists and the field of communication studies view these components simply as 'nuts and bolts' parts of reports, structured in no set sequence from story to story, with regard to CCR, so long as they form a coherent internal narrative (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). Here, a more thematic approach is taken to their use by understanding them as also providing a means by which aspects of a newsworthy event that are possibly problematic or negatively deviant can be signified to audiences as part of an overarching narrative across stories related to EU integration specifically. By doing so, it can be shown how the news media's narratives of events serve to reinforce national identity conceptions by ascribing newsworthy salience to events, their facets and relevant actors which are perceived to conflict with national identity as parts of issues.

Before continuing, I should also note that I have organized the five W's and an H format into a paired structure, which can fit sequentially within the CCR structure (See figure 1 in chapter 4). In terms of valence framing, simply because an event or actor is portrayed in a positive/negative manner this does not necessarily mean that the opposite was the case with another actor in the story (Maier and Rittberger, 2008). Yet, other attempts to re-conceptualize this dichotomy in a more nuanced manner end up reproducing it with other terminology (Schuck

and De Vreese, 2006; Sommer and Rhurmann, 2010; De Vreese, Boomgaarden and Semetko, 2011). However, organizing the five W's and an H into pairs according to CCR allows for the creation of a spectrum: Deviance within one of the two holds the power to make that aspect of CCR into which it fits, be saliently abnormal, while deviance in both stands to possibly indicate a negatively threatening characterization of the EU. Thus, it allows for a range from relevant but largely unproblematic to completely threatening, along which the valence of news stories can be placed, analyzed and aggregated by these storytelling aspects across different topical frames such as they relate to CCR narrative of longer-term issues or topics.

What to report and Why - national identity and the assessment of event newsworthiness

What - This narrative component seeks to answer the question: 'What topic made the news?' Immediately obvious in the above statement is the matter of construction of what a journalist will consider as a 'newsworthy' event. It is intuitive that events which are perceived to be of more relevance to public target audiences will be considered more salient, as it will make them more likely to consume news product (Van Dijk, 1988). However, the mindsets of journalists -- and, indeed, their editors -- are also of relevance when it comes to the selection of news stories, making news "more than an economic product, but a professional, political, and cultural product. Economic imperatives are an essential but insufficient explanation for what gets produced as 'news'" (Lawrence, 2006, 226). Indeed, as Statham has found, journalists' own self-concepts regarding their audience and editorial line often prove most influential (Statham, 2004). Yet, by itself, simply because an event is deviant in the sense it departs sufficiently from what news audiences perceive to be everyday affairs, that does not mean that it is automatically threateningly deviant, as positioned in the narrative of a news report.

Why - This narrative aspect addresses the reason for which a given event is mentioned or justified as being newsworthy. Thus, it becomes apparent that incongruence with societal normative values of a given group influences the focus of narrative formats regarding the perception of the nature of an event and why it may be worth reporting (e.g. why an item constitutes 'news'). It also carries implications as to whether a crisis-causing event is viewed positively or negatively (Scheufele, 1999). Secondly to said incongruence are factors such as political leanings of news organizations, with the input from the external sources selected by the journalist playing a tertiary role (ibid). These values are determined in large part from the fact that journalists are themselves part of the audience for news and thus are influenced by the publicity of events from other outlets as well as by the national communities of which they are a part (117-8). This embedded nature of journalism within public spheres, thus, causes reporters to reinforce national identity conceptions by their selecting events as news that deviate negatively from perceived interests of a certain group that constitutes the intended audience of their outlet, based on their own identities, by reporting the item as not simply different or change-causing, but also as threatening (Donsbach, 2004, 148-9). The above provides a means by which EU integration becomes politicized as being negatively related to crisis-events for the nation-state through publicization in national public spheres. But, it does not explain how events relating to free movement of persons became politicized negatively in relation to other actions.

When an issue is reported and How - National identity and the sides of a story

When - This aspect refers to the development of narrative by relating the crisis-causing event either positively or negatively to other developments. As such, it has to do with defining the 'sides' of the story. As journalists are members of national societies, the role of their identities

and ideologies may explain why given contexts or viewpoints are more likely to be reported at certain points in time, while others are not; with regard to the EU integration process as "Unpublicized, the views could gain few adherents and generate little perceived or actual effect on public opinion" (Entman, 1993, 55). Indeed, an aspect of an event, or anticipated event, which immediately constitutes deviance in that it carries the possibility to clash negatively with the audience's identity-based normative conceptions of their world and is perceived by journalists as a crisis leading to conflict, is therefore more likely to be not only negatively highlighted in a story, but also reported unfavorably in a temporal context of other 'sides of the story' (Van Dijk, 1988; Machill, Kohler and Waldhauser, 2007).^{37 38} Further, other events which may have great relevance to a given issue but are not perceived to meet the above criteria, such as policy making, or statements by the Commission, are less likely to be considered an important part of a news story, if they do not immediately have obvious relevance to the crisis juncture which is considered to affect the audience and thus, do not constitute a relevant aspect that leads to evident conflict which occurs temporally in terms of journalistic storytelling as narrative (Gans, 2007).³⁹

³⁷ While the five W's and an H more closely resemble the components that each story must have in order to be complete, crisis-conflict-resolution can be thought of as a narrative format, without which these components would lack drive or coherence.

³⁸ The title of Machill, Kohler and Waldhauser's article is interesting for two reasons: First, its accentuation of television news and, second, its implication that narrative formatting in news is something 'innovative'. While sides of the narrative may become more explicitly valenced through increased sensationalization, they would still need to exist in news - television or otherwise - in order for the story to have coherent drive.

³⁹ With regard to media coverage of the supranational institutions, and thus, their 'side of the story' within discourse, the procedural nature of their decision-making process does not lend itself to extensive media coverage; meaning that supranational "initiation of policy is thus hardly an issue in the news whereas this is the phase in which the Commission is most clearly involved [while that body] refrains from... taking clear positions itself. This again is fatal for media coverage, as conflict is exactly what journalists are often looking for to give political stories an interesting and intelligible drive" (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007, 335).

How - This aspect refers the actions taken by forces in conflict and whether they are considered to relate positively or negatively to the crisis-causing event. In some instances, actions which can have other consequences in the long run may be framed as more negative if they are seen, in the short term, to relate negatively to intensification of the event that caused the crisis, allowing for the evolution of discourse related to that issue and its perceived newsworthiness over time (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Bijsmans and Altides, 2007). As Scheufele and Tewksbury write, it is thus not simply the information about certain actions that carries effect but also "the fact that the issue has received a certain amount of processing time and attention" as a relevant side of the story, characterized in a certain manner in the news (2007, 14; Kitch, 2003). With respect to the growth of free movement of persons along with EU integration, this may mean that the media, in terms of how its side of a story is reported, do not focus on the more esoteric aspects of European integration, while focusing on other actions within the national arena as more directly deviant from perceived national interests as the implementation of the single market grew more comprehensive. Therefore, the EU's actions flowing from the crisis-causing event may stand to be either underrepresented as a side of the conflict, or itself presented as negatively deviant in news.⁴⁰

'Where' an event occurs and Who is responsible - National identity and amelioration of deviance

'Where' - This component of the five W's and an H framework relates to the space in which the deviance is occurring and thus where it should be resolved. With regard to European integration, the source of visible crisis in terms of national interest perception tends to rest on the

⁴⁰ Because the *'How'* is mostly concerned with actions, it proves the most difficult storytelling component to disaggregate from the others. By their nature, actions are discrete events taken by actors in temporal context.

implementation of EU regulation on the national level and its perceived consequences to the extent that it is analyzed as a 'European' issue (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007). Thus, it would appear that national news media are inclined to portray events as causing problems for a Member State, or a Europe of individual states, rather than unfolding in 'Europe' (De Vreese, 2001). Such lack of focus on supranational level actors means that national figures have greater opportunity to shift blame for policies to the supranational level, or distort EU claims in the mediated communicative discourse especially as journalists interpret consequences of that regulation inherently for the national space; serving to reinforce the clash between the 'deviant' EU-level interest-based discourse of market integration and 'normal' national identity-based interest perceptions (Huxford, 2007).

Who - Finally, this component relates to actors pointed to as normatively responsible for resolving the crisis in a positive manner. Which actors are considered to be of relevance (and indeed the manner in which they are relevant) when reporting a story is also an aspect of whether national or supranational actors are considered as more legitimately important in a news story. Through the tendency of journalists to set forth certain actors as playing certain roles in a report they unknowingly "define the terms of a debate without the audience realizing it is taking place" (Tankard, 2001, 97). Due to this focus regarding the primacy of national governance with regard to EU policy, this may cause journalists to focus on statements or actions of national leaders -- or more generally actors -- when reporting information through pointing to them as having ultimate responsibility for resolving deviant consequences of EU-originated policy. This renders the EU discourse as less credible or relevant and possibly implies that the EU is responsible not only for causing crisis, but also for forestalling resolution of the conflict (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000;

Kjaer and Langer, 2005). As a result, the subject position implied by a story could stand to place the EU as a force that should be resisted for its causation and forestallment of negative deviance.

Conclusion

Moving from the broader context of the process of growth of the EU single market for persons and resistance to further integration, this section began by outlining what exactly is clashing so as to engender said wariness of integration in light of the right of free movement of persons. On the level of the EU institutions, an interest-based discourse of solidarity of economic opportunity in a single market based on mutually beneficial interactions is advanced. However, on the level of the Member States, national identities persist; they continue to accord ties of solidarity at the national level and color interest perceptions. Due to the resilience of these identity-based interests in national public spheres the EU discourse gains little traction, especially in popular discourses in which these interest perceptions make it appear that the 'nation' stands to lose from the integration process. The role of the news media within the public sphere was highlighted as a means by which these discourses can be taken up, and analyzed for their narration of deviance according to the journalistic storytelling formats of CCR and the five W's and an H. It was argued that through these formats, news reports have the power to reflect public attentiveness, disgruntlement and even create moral panics over the deviance of supranational integrative measures from identity-based interest perception. This could stand to bring the discourse/identity clash into full evidence. Going forward, prospects for operationalization of these formats across the diverse national contexts of the EU Member States and national media environments will be addressed.

Four: Methodological Choices and Overview of Findings

Framing Integration in News across National Contexts: Operationalization of the Study

The previous theoretical section examined how resistance to EU integration in relation to the right of free movement of persons can be thought of as resultant from a clash between supranational EU discourse regarding solidarity of opportunity in a single market and construed national identities. The latter continues to accord solidarity ties on the level of the nation-state with regard to interest perception. Events that are seen, at least possibly, to violate these interest conceptions are taken up by the news media, which reports events and issues according to set formats in order to give their reports relevant narrative drive, defining debate within the realm of the national public sphere.

In what follows, I lay forth some analytical decisions that were taken with regard to conducting the study in the area of case selection and analytical method. In doing so, I hypothesize that, in context of the non-homogeneity of national identity, said identifications are more permeable in national discourses within countries where the concept of the 'nation' remains more contestable within a common media environment. The type of press examined is explained, based on functional equivalence in terms of popular editorial stance. Differences in the reporting styles of media cultures in each of the case study countries are taken into account. Finally, a design is laid out regarding the manner in which the 5 W's and an H and Crisis-Conflict-Resolution formats are needed so as to more concretely eviscerate the character of the

discourse/identity clash as it is taken up through the conduit of news. By using the concept of deviance as an intermediary between the ideational level of the clash and the analytical tools of the five W's and an H event and CCR issue frameworks, it can be shown precisely what aspects of news narrative serve to engender identity-based resistance to EU integration, in light of the free movement of persons, across differing national contexts of the EU. Overall findings of the study are briefly summarized.

The selection of case-study methods and countries to be examined

Resistance to EU integration as examined through the lens of expansion of the right of free movement of persons, in terms of discourse/identity clash activation through the portrayal of events in the media, obviously are phenomena that can occur in contextually different ways. These implications can vary across Member States regarding the manner in which they manifest themselves. This reality makes said clash highly complex and situational in nature. Understanding how the free movement of persons is serving as a source of support for lack of further integration, therefore, lends itself to emphasis of a case study-centered methodology (Yin, 2003). Given that the clash is broad and societal in scope, this methodology provides a means by which to overcome the consequent lack of opportunity for the researcher to directly manipulate variables in an experiment-like manner (Kiser and Hechter, 1991). Through the use of case-study methods, the real-life nature of the research object is taken into account. It also provides the opportunity for a more in-depth level of analysis.

The examination of case studies allows for the interface of research with ongoing social phenomena. Still, it does present issues with regard to the generalizability of the findings. This pitfall is especially encountered when selecting which units are likely to be relatively

representative of a larger whole (Geddes, 2003). Selecting only a state or unit where instances of resistance to integration have been particularly pronounced as a result of intra-EU immigration may serve simply to confirm that clash between supranational discourse and national solidarity ties was evident there and why. However, this does not necessarily mean that the results will be applicable to other national milieus. As a result, because the phenomena of interest might occur "in multiple places, the analyst would be wise to examine its effects in all of those places or a sample of them" (117-8). However, specific flashpoints of the clash may differ in countries as a given EU policy may have different perceived effects across Member States and is therefore not "contested to the same degree nor supported by the same justifications" in them (De Wilde, Michailidou and Trenz, 2013, 7). Indeed, if clash between the supranational discourse of common benefit and national identity-based interest perception is not evident in some countries at the same time when it is present in others, this may prove just as revealing.

The EU is comprised of a diverse grouping of states; it is not feasible to textually analyze the totality of news reporting in all 28 of them. Consequently, a more contrasting case study approach is useful in highlighting these differences, as attitudes towards the EU are more likely to be similar in similar Member States with similar relations to the single market. This type of selection is most effective in teasing out necessary causes of a phenomenon and lends itself relatively more to generalizability across Member States with differing levels of development, relations to free movement of persons, sub-national groupings and thus to the integration process more generally (Seawright and Gerring, 2008, 298). While the selection of a most similar approach may have led to a more nuanced understanding in states with similar characteristics in any of the above manners, this would only have provided information about any one part of the EU or grouping within it; my intention is to understand the manner in which

national identity-based interest stands to clash with discourses of EU market solidarity across the more diverse landscape of Europe.

Thus, the selection of three prominent Member States: the UK, Poland and Spain, should serve to illuminate differing sources of the clash across development levels and national contexts. This is due to the specific characteristics of these countries along two dimensions which better allow us to test for the presence of national identity constructions, rather than interests, as fomenting resistance to integration through news narrative: First, each of these countries is either a migrant sending (Poland), migrant receiving (UK), or 'mixed' Member State (Spain). Second, sub-national organization of those countries, with regard to ethnic groupings, differs across them.⁴¹ If interest were primary in determining news discourse on free movement, then popular discussion should flow along lines of apparent benefits (or costs) of the movement of persons in the EU in relation to other aspects of integration. In this case, the benefits of EU free movement would be discussed in a more rational choice manner. The a lack of legitimacy of the EU in this case would flow, possibly, from a deficit in its ability to inclusively allow its citizens to pursue mutual interests in a democratically inclusive manner, rather than from identity-based perceptions regarding normative outcomes of its market-making activities (Bellamy, 2013; Verhaegen, Hooghe, and Quintelier, 2014).

At the same time, the right of free movement still may be viewed in different ways depending on a country's relation to the single market. On the other hand, an opposing rationale, more closely related to national identity, can be elaborated. The selected states display differing numbers of governance layers with regard to sub-national ethnic groupings. Federal or

⁴¹ Incidentally, I also speak English, Polish and Spanish.

decentralized states might be more accepting of supranational influence as their populations' identities are more accepting of competing layers of government (Schild, 2001). Yet, mixed results have been found for whether a federal structure makes the national identities of citizens in those states more accepting of the activities of the EU (Anderson, 2002). This might be due to the fact that having a more federal or centralized form of government, by itself, is not sufficient with regard to influencing identity based perceptions about the EU discourse (Mueller, 2012). Instead, selection of the above countries is useful. As some past studies have suggested, contesting sub-national ethnic groupings, as reflected (or not) in layers of government could influence the permeability of national identity among individuals with strong regional attachments below that of the nation state (Chacha, 2012; Beyers and Bursens, 2013).⁴² In Spain, the mixed migration country, sub-national governance structures tend to be both rather autonomized and organized along the lines of ethnic communities, many with their own languages and agendas. Still, the country shares one common media environment. UK, the receiving country, is nominally a 'country of nations'; ethnic or linguistic groupings are historically tied to a certain region that is incorporated as a discrete administrative unit. However, the member nations of the UK share (for the most part) a common native language in the modern day. In the case of England and Wales, they have much more limited autonomy, while the compatibility of Welsh or English identity with that of 'British' remains largely uncontentious. The latter is considered to spread rather unequivocally to the UK's other member

⁴² Put more explicitly, Poland, the UK and Spain are the only EU countries with their respective relations to the single market for persons that also have sub-national ethnic groups that are not the main population of another nation-state. Yet, these groups are reflected differently in the governance structures of their respective states.

nations (Mandler, 2006).⁴³ More similarly, Poland, the sending country, is one of the most ethnically homogeneous states in the EU and is largely a unitary republic.⁴⁴ According to this, if national identity remains prime as reported in news so as to foment resistance to integration, then in light of the countries' relation to the single market for persons, EU integration will be viewed as relatively less deviant in those states where national governance of discrete ethnic subunits remains ordinarily conflictual, so as to make what constitutes national identity remain a contestable concept. Thus, if national identity remains prime, resistance to EU integration should be stronger due to perceived interests of the 'nation' in Britain and Poland, albeit in different ways, rather than in Spain.⁴⁵

If perceptions of interest find their basis in sticky conceptions of national identity, focusing analysis on comparison of popular press discourse in these countries should thus help to take into account the diversity of development levels, as well as of the governance structures of the states from which the EU institutions seek to make the single market. Such analysis can highlight how the clash has become activated in countries which have had differing experiences with the EU's free movement of persons (Schwant, 2007). Therefore this approach will allow for consideration of a plurality of sources of reticence toward issues related to integration in countries with historically different attitudes toward multi-level governance, nationalism and migration.

⁴³ It is interesting to note that support for the EU is stronger in Scotland, a separate national group that has demanded more political autonomy, or independence from London.

⁴⁴ The Polish *Województwa* enjoy only superficial autonomy from Warsaw are organized with basically no regard for the country's linguistic/ethnic minorities such as Silesians or Kashubians (Riedel, 2012).

⁴⁵ As will be discussed later in greater detail, the UK does not have one unified press environment. Going forward, I use the terms 'Britain' and 'UK' for purposes of brevity to refer specifically to the English and Welsh context, unless otherwise noted.

The point of access: popular discourse and selection of low-quality news outlets

Newspapers, or speaking more generally, textual news sources, provide the most concrete example of how an issue is framed in national medias. The explicit narratives in formats such as television can be clouded through more involved presentation formats (Fields, 1988). With an eye towards stories regarding EU integration in relation to free movement of persons, the analysis therefore made use of newspaper online archives. While taking articles from the online outlets of prominent newspapers accounts for the increased salience of online news, it also raises questions regarding differences between their print and electronic versions. However, because their editorial stances, their target audiences, and possible goals of their ownership often remain quite similar, so do the online and print version; the general tenor of the articles collected should not be greatly affected by such differentials, nor does evidence suggest that the manner in which news consumers read from the two outlets differs greatly (D'Haenens, Jankowski and Heuvelman, 2004).⁴⁶ Further, despite the rise of online and free press, patterns of news consumption remain "copiloted by users: who they are, how they choose to live their lives, and how news use fits within that lifestyle" meaning that the type of readership that a physical and online outlet gets are likely to be similar (Fortunati, Deuze and de Luca, 2014, 136).⁴⁷

As mentioned beforehand, I focus on what has been termed popular news discourse. Resultantly, analysis will center on the collection and categorization of articles in the online archives of major tabloid-style or free news outlets in the three sample countries. As a result,

⁴⁶ Regarding the use of the online archives, it was noted while conducting the study that some of the archives, notably the Sun and the Daily Mail, may give less information regarding who wrote a given article, than in the print version. This may especially be the case with opinion pieces or columns.

⁴⁷ It should be noted here that for some of the online outlets examined, information about the journalist or columnist who wrote a given article may have been less evident in the online archives, as compared to the print version.

while allowing for the fact that the character of EU resistance may differ in nature and strength across cases, this remains mainly a study targeted on resistance to the EU in popular press discourse which locates itself mostly on the latter half of the integration/demarcation divide. As Van Dijk has noted, this type of press encompasses more than simply publications with a populist editorial stance, but unlike quality press, have in common a tendency to only focus on an event and its perceived consequences in terms of predetermined frames, while providing little in the way of substantive context (2013). Focusing on these types of 'low quality' press allows for better targeting of the analysis to the relevant popular discourse, or where that discourse would be extant, due to the tendency of these outlets' reporting to emphasize simplification of complex events or issues and thus providing a 'reality' for the news consumer which is readily assimilatable; populist-style discourses often are based in such simplified appeals (Wodak, 2015).⁴⁸

Furthermore, due to these differences in reporting style from quality outlets, a focus on low quality, popular, national press allows one to access non-elite debates related to free movement of persons. These debates can be said to constitute an "alternative" public sphere within the national milieu (Ornebring and Jonsson, 2004). This does not mean, however, that they find themselves out of the 'mainstream' discourse. The alternativeness of tabloid-style journalism flows from its ability to open up an alternate accounting within the mainstream (Atton, 2002; Ornebring, 2007). As such, low-quality press discourse does not contextualize

⁴⁸ Again, while coming from a CDS perspective would imply an assumption that this 'reality' is at some point knowable through analyzing the use of language to reveal explicit power relations of discourse in the public sphere, I stress that the identity-based construed nature of power relations within said realm means that media can only offer a reflection of one interpretation of that reality to their readership through the narrative framing of events in their content.

issues onto other debates in its press discourse in the same way that quality press or the academic literature related to contemporary politics does in the examined countries; "the 'alternativeness' may derive from the usage of *other ways or forms* of debating and discussing common issues than those commonly used in the mainstream, for example forms which encourage citizen participation and non-parliamentary direct action." (Ornebring and Jonsson, 2004, 286). Thus, the empirical analysis of this thesis will focus on the discourse constructed in the low-quality press discourse, with relation to free movement and integration itself, instead of a wider context of elite politics. It may not be reflected in the 'image' of the world that these outlets provide to their readership; to do so would prove irrelevant, unrevealing or even misleading about how popular discourse related to free movement and integration relates to other popular debates in the entirety of these popular discourses (ibid). Of course, none of the above means that a given reader's position on issues related to EU integration could not be influenced -- in some way -- by other articles regarding domestic politics in the same paper. However, here is not the place for an in-depth analysis of possible associational linkages that may be created inside readers' minds; doing so is beyond the scope of this thesis. The point, instead, is to provide an accounting of the manner in which resilient identity-based interest perceptions are reflected in popular news narrative, so as to clash with the EU's transactionalist discourse in light of free movement.

Across cases, papers to be examined were selected such that they can be said to play a role of 'functional equivalence.' Or, in other words, speak to groups as similar as can reasonably be expected in their respective public spheres (Hofstede, 1998). They are as follows: Fakt and Metro in Poland; the Sun and the Daily Mail in England and Wales; 20 Minutos and La Razón in Spain. As will be explained later in greater detail, the functional equivalence of the news outlets was determined not only according to the editorial line or distribution schemes of the papers.

But, it is also influenced according to differences in the three national media markets and the journalistic cultures of the case study countries. All sources can be said to be the two most major, national lower quality publications in both their online and printed forms and thus more likely to resort to popular or national appeal in their reports:⁴⁹

In the UK, the Sun and the Daily Mail are clearly the two most major outlets that conform to a popular line within the English and Welsh legal environment.⁵⁰ However, while Super Express, Poland's only other national tabloid paper besides Fakt, may ideally stand in closer equivalence with the others, it does not archive its articles. In Spain, while ABC might be said to take a more similar editorial stance in terms of its political affiliations, it still remains better thought of as quality press. Other national papers either do not have the necessary editorial stance or are targeted to one of Spain's regions. Therefore, the inclusion of two free publications (Metro and 20 Minutos), which necessarily attempt to simplify accounts and appeal to the 'lowest common denominator' in Poland and Spain can be said to act as appropriate stand-ins, along with Fakt and La Razón, due to a lesser tradition of appearances of journalistic objectivity in these countries and permissiveness regarding openly opinionated or partisan reporting (Dalen, De

⁴⁹ When determining functional equivalence, as would have been the case with any selection of case studies, peculiarities of the countries in question influenced the political bent of the examined press outlets. Poland has no left wing tabloid. In Spain, the same is true of nationally circulated press; while El Mundo takes a leftist bent, it can be better thought of as a broadsheet. Left-wing labor market protectionism remains on the political fringes in all three countries, and is not taken up in any major press. This in no way rules out that in other countries, with different political landscapes and press markets, more left wing, popular, anti-EU stances may be extant.

⁵⁰ A lack of legal harmonization between England and Wales and the UK's other member-nations' media markets means that completely different versions of the same papers are printed in Scotland and Northern Ireland. While it may have made sense to analyze all of these versions, the point of the research is to back out how national identity conceptions serve to frame the right of free movement in news, rather than to eviscerate regional variations in separate mediated press spheres. Thus, the decision was made to focus on England and Wales as this section of the UK has less autonomy from London. The existence of a unified press environment in Spain, despite its heavily regionalized governance structure, allowed for use of national papers that do not change their editorial stances depending on the region where they are sold.

Vreese and Albaek, 2011; Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012). Conversely, while the inclusion of English Metro may have seemed tempting, given the necessary prominence of free press in the other two case study countries, the greater tradition of journalistic objectivity in the UK meant that it is relatively less sensationalized within the broader spectrum of the English and Welsh media environments (McNair, 2009).

Table 1: Number of articles collected for selected press by country

Country	Poland	Britain	Spain
Newspapers selected	Fakt, Metro	Daily Mail, The Sun	20 Minutos, La Razón
Number of articles in corpus	111	184	206

As previously stated, instead of using keywords to select which articles are relevant to the corpus, articles were flagged for further investigation based on title (Entman, 1994). Coding, according to the five W and an H's components was then accomplished through the coding of sections of text in Excel. Refraining from making extensive use of electronic key word or pattern identifications when coding allowed for better comparison across cases, especially as when working across different languages "many different words can relate to the same frame" (Crespy, 2015, 113). Regarding assemblage of the corpus, it should also be noted here that the media outlets in question publish vastly different amounts of articles. Therefore, for reasons of feasibility, I found that I had to take steps to limit the number of titles screened in some cases. When analyzing the Polish articles by title for their relation to EU integration, I was able to look

through the entire year for outlets in question. However, with regard to the UK and Spain, the sheer number of articles in the archives made this undoable, albeit for slightly different reasons. In response, I collected articles from the Daily Mail for the odd numbered months. The size of The Sun's archive was even larger.⁵¹ Thus, I was forced to collect articles from the even numbered months on every other day, alternating odd and even days for each screened month. For Spain -- a Eurozone member and, thus, the most involved in deeper political integration -- the amount of articles related to EU integration was so large that this last method was used for both Spanish papers. In this way, sampling was spread out over the entire year and across both papers evenly, when the amount of articles that they publish is taken into account and should not greatly affect the discernment of issue-narratives of deviance.

Role of the selected press outlets in their respective national public spheres

It is readily apparent that no two media environments are completely alike. These landscapes vary across national and regional contexts according to journalistic cultures, reporting styles and societal conceptions as to what constitutes a work of journalism. Below, I flesh out some differences in the media environments of the case study countries with emphasis on the role that the selected media outlets play within each and in comparison to each other. This is done with an eye toward the concept of functional equivalence.

Tabloidizing 'Revolutionary Journalism': Post-1989 developments in Polish media culture

⁵¹ The Sun does not have an open access archive as such. As a result the Factiva database was used to bring up titles by simply searching articles in the Sun on given day and then filtering out topics such as sports and celebrity news which were highly unlikely to contain framing related to the integration of the EU. I then looked through the titles manually.

Within the Polish newspaper market, the publications with the two highest circulation figures during 2013 were Fakt and Metro, respectively (ZKDP, 2013).⁵² Both titles belong to large media corporations. While neither company admits to its publication having a political stance, they both view their respective news outlets as being directed toward relatively broad sections of the Polish population. Fakt is owned by the Polish subsidiary of the Swiss Ringier Axel Springer Media Group, which describes the publication as on its website as “a modern popular newspaper that describes current social developments in politics, culture and sports in plain language.” The company does not explicitly mention what segment of Polish society the newspaper targets in terms of readership. At the same time, it does admit to maintaining a simplified, sensationalized style of reporting through its reference to 'plain language'. However, others have noted that Fakt generally maintains something of a rightist bent (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012). Metro is owned by Agora S.A., a large Polish media company, which views the publication as being “a brand directed first and foremost to residents of large cities.” It is distributed (in print) Monday through Friday (Metro, 2016). These descriptions may seem to imply that the publications maintain positions of objectivity when reporting the news. However, certain aspects of the development of the Polish media environment mean that this is not always the case. It is therefore necessary to briefly address the state of the Polish media market.

At first glance, the Polish media market bears many similarities to press environments in Western or Northern Europe. Polish newspapers can have opinion, editorial pieces and letters to the editor, in addition to 'factual' articles, which comprise the lion's share of printed news stories.

⁵² I provide a further explanation for the selection of this timeframe for the study later in this chapter.

However, the Polish media environment, in which free movement and EU integration are discussed, also exhibits a number of differences, largely owing to the country's communist past.

Poland's situation in the Eastern Bloc during the Cold War essentially prevented it from developing anything resembling a free press for most of the latter half of the 20th century. Prior to 1989, when the country moved swiftly to commercialize media, the editor's position of virtually all newspapers was filled by someone with relatively high standing in the Communist party and was obviously expected to promote the related normative stance in their publication's content (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012). It may seem intuitive that the pre-1989 system of 'revolutionary journalism' would have been completely dismantled after the fall of the Berlin wall. Indeed, Western attempts to export Anglo-Saxon 'fact-based' journalism to the CEE states shows that such a shift was widely expected at the time (Lauk, 2008).⁵³ Yet, as Dobek-Ostrowska writes, ironically "the collapse of the Soviet regime neither eliminated nor weakened the nomenklatura system. Instead, the nomenklatura of a single Communist party was replaced by a multiparty nomenklatura" (2012, 48). As a result, "advocacy journalism and political engagement are not deemed to be unprofessional" (Hadamik, 2005 in Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012, 39). Such reporting is often regarded as "a very important professional skill" (ibid). The implications of advocacy's role within the Polish media environment are striking: journalists often present their personal or editorial normative opinions regarding what 'we as Poles' should think, as if these views were objective facts.

⁵³ Lauk notes that while there is variety across eastern European media landscapes, many remain similar in that journalists consider it their job to take a stand on the issues about which they are reporting.

While Polish articles do tend to present opinion as concrete truth, this does not mean that the country's news outlets are controlled directly by political parties (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012).⁵⁴ While some outlets do tend to support the policies of some parties more than others, this support is often given in a rather ad hoc manner or non-predictable way, especially when it comes to tabloid style press and other cheap media such as Fakt and Metro (ibid). Although the advent of press freedom in Poland may not have fostered an end to 'propaganda-style' reporting, it has helped to increase competition within the media market through a proliferation of news outlets. Dobek-Ostrowska observes that this growth in the number of news outlets has resulted in a decline in the quality of journalism, meaning that new journalists often lack even "basic knowledge" (40). Further, to cut costs, publishers of non-quality press often make use of amateurs rather than hiring professional journalists.⁵⁵ The decline in the overall quality of Polish journalism seems not to have eroded the historical role of the Polish press as engaged in "nation-building processes" through its "instructive character" as many CEE journalists, including Poles, continue to view themselves as providers of such opinions (Lauk, 2008, 195-6). The continuance of this style of journalism goes concurrently with lower journalistic standards and "a widespread demand for sensational entertainment-style journalism" (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012, 40). Thus, especially in the types of publications that are most read, a journalistic culture of sensationalized nationalism is fostered where increasingly uninformed opinion is presented as instructive truth.

⁵⁴ By this, it is meant that parties do not have control over a newspaper's editorial position through the proxy of the political position of the parent companies (as may be the case in Spain). However, "state interference is still substantial [in] (Romania, Bulgaria, and Poland). Although the democratic constitutions declare the freedom of the press, legal measures are still occasionally used for punishing "disobedient" journalists and news media. Slander and libel as criminal offences are still not removed from the texts of the Penal Codes of several of the new EU countries (e.g. Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Latvia, and the Czech Republic) (Lauk, 2009, 72).

⁵⁵ Indeed, during the framing analysis, it was noted that Metro seemed to keep a small group of staff writers. Fakt rarely-to-never publishes a 'by-line' along with stories that are not outright opinion pieces.

Rituals of objectivity: Journalists as a purveyors of truth in Anglo-Saxon media culture

Similar to the Polish newspaper market in 2013, the publications with the highest circulation in the United Kingdom were also low quality press with a rightist popular bent. Namely, these titles were The Sun and The Daily Mail. Figures reflecting circulation performance for the Oct 2013 period reveal that The Sun, on average, sold 2,150,640 copies daily whereas the Daily Mail registered 1,753,489 sales. Their rankings relative to other titles do not differ significantly from the same period one year prior (Durrani, 2014).⁵⁶ While both papers do carry a rightist bent, neither parent company acknowledges this explicitly. The Sun is owned by News UK, a subsidiary of News Corp. Its owners appear to be aware and even proud of the newspaper's sensationalist tenor, describing it as an "instigator" which "Makes life simpler and more sensational. Every single day", without mentioning if the newspaper has an editorial stance politically (The Sun, 2015). In this sense, it plays more of a similar role in the UK Media environment as Fakt does in Poland. The Daily Mail is owned by DMG Media, the parent company of which is Daily Mail and General Trust. DMG Media's description of the newspaper mentions only briefly that it is directed towards the "mid-market" and "is as influential as ever" (Daily Mail, 2015). Due to the fact that the Daily Mail's format relies more on the tenor of the text of its articles, this makes its role relatively more similar to Poland's Metro.⁵⁷ In contrast to

⁵⁶ The circulation rankings from for the top two Sunday versions of the newspapers do not differ from those of the rest of the week (ibid). As such, I do not differentiate between the 'regular' versions of the publications and their Sunday versions.

⁵⁷ Considering that free publications were selected in Spain and Poland one may wonder if it did not make more sense to use English Metro instead of the Daily Mail. However, as will be explained, greater expectations of journalistic objectivity in the UK media environment prevents the British free publication from being as outrightly opinionated as Polish Metro.

the Polish parent company descriptions, the above implies at least some intent to sensationalize events or exert some force on their course. However, due the strong Anglo-Saxon tradition of journalistic objectivity, any attempts by the media outlets' editors or ownership at influence remain implicit in reporting, while also couched as fact.

While a journalistic principle of objectivity would seem to imply that it is possible to produce news content in a completely impartial and balanced manner, this is not the case. Many UK journalists continue to believe in some form of objective reportage, or at least the ideal of it (McNair, 2009, 42). However, in a constructive sense, journalism "regardless of the integrity of individual journalists and editors is always a selective partial account of a reality which can never be truly known in its entirety" (41).

Instead, bias exists inherently in the selection of stories and which sides of the their narratives are accentuated. Thus, within the UK media environment, journalists' projection of the principle of objectivity onto their reporting can be understood better as a "'strategic ritual' performed by journalists in order to command authority and legitimacy in the view of their audience" (McNair, 2009, 56). In this way, credibility is accorded to the perceived impartial standing of the journalist, rather than to the position itself. As a result, in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, "like academic writers, journalists must be seen to be objective in the conduct of their profession, and to this end they have developed a number of conventions which are used when constructing material" (ibid). These 'rules' include presenting both sides of a story by quoting sources of authority, and not *directly* giving one's opinion or a bias. In this way, "the pursuit of these practices signifies 'objectivity' to, and thus mobilizes the trust of, the audience" so as to distinguish news from propaganda (57).

When applied to the tabloid publications in question, this 'assumed objectivity' can serve to the detriment of reporting significant or representative facts, in favor of information that is likely to incite fear or excitement in a given audience, despite appearances of impartiality. This outcome runs from the fact that the alternative "sensationalism, emotional appeals and new forms of presentation often associated with tabloids are not always compatible with factuality and fairness" even if they are reported according to the 'conventions' of objectivity (Ornebring and Jonsson, 2004, 292). Evidence from Anglo-Saxon media culture shows that an outlet's ownership can exert influence on what is reported according to these conventions (Gilens and Hertzman, 2000).⁵⁸ Further, within the context of the UK tabloid market specifically, Boykoff has highlighted that not only do tabloids have a tendency to be read by working class individuals, who would be more likely to make limited or no use of the right of free movement, but also that "identities shaped by 'working class' newspapers feed back into and fuel readership habits" (2008, 551). Thus, readers consume product which is presented as objective, but which, in fact, is selected and portrayed so as to be more likely to agree with, or influence them according to, their pre-existing perceptions of national identity-based interests. Due to the fact that differences between Scottish and English/Welsh press law allow for publications with the same name to have different content, it is necessary here to reiterate one further caveat: as resistance to EU integration is mainly centered in England the study will focus on the English/Welsh versions of the media outlets in question.

Taking a stand on the meaning of Spanish nationalism: Media environment in Spain

⁵⁸ This may be less the case in Poland where media ownership remains more diversified, though other CEE states have exhibited evidence of stronger editorial control from a few powerful owners (Stetka, 2012, 450).

Specificities of the Spanish media landscape necessitated the selection of 20 Minutos and La Razón in order for the papers to fit more closely with the four in the other two case study countries. Determining this functional equivalence was the most difficult for the Spanish case, as the Iberian country's media landscape and culture differs noticeably from either the Polish or English models. This has led others, such as Dalen, De Vreese and Albaek, to conclude, "Tabloid newspapers were not included [in their analysis] as there is no Spanish Tabloid" (2011, 911). This is correct in the sense that the tenor of reporting often associated with tabloidized media outlets, which emphasizes a highly sensationalized reporting style, does not appear in any major Spanish daily text-based news publication. However, other factors can be used to define which papers remain most like those in the other two countries and therefore where anti-EU popular sentiment would be most likely to reside.

Spain is the only case study country in which the top two circulating paid publications were quality broadsheets; neither has the necessary 'popular' editorial stance to be considered functional equivalents with the selected papers in the other countries (OJD, 2014). Thus, 20 Minutos, a free publication was selected both for being a major media outlet and for being circulated nationally while not targeted to one of Spain's regions. During the relevant time frame, it was owned by the Swiss 20 Minuten holding, which was, in turn, mostly owned by the Norwegian corporation Schibsted ASA. Its website mentions that it is widely circulated in all of Spain (20 Minutos, 2016). As such, it necessarily takes a national bent in a country with many competing regions, while not offering much in the way of in-depth reporting.

La Razón, while 6th in circulation, is the only other major national, lower-quality paper that has a popular editorial stance and promotes Spanish nationalism across all of the Spanish

communities, rather than being biased in favor of one region or another. This is significant. Unlike in Poland or England, the concept of nationalism -- in terms of simply constituting a nation -- remains contestable in Spanish reporting (Gillespie, 2015). *La Razón* is also printed in tabloid format; like some tabloid-style press it makes use of eye-catching headlines and large pictures on its cover, making it relatively more similar to *Fakt* or *the Sun*. It is owned by the Madrid-based Grupo Planeta. The company's website mentions it as having "national scope" and being "a newspaper with values and principles, with a clear commitment to the family as the essential backbone of our society" (Grupo Planeta, 2016). Thus, while neither paper engages in sensationalist-style reporting, it is the national message implicit in the editorial stances of these outlets that allows them to stand as the nearest possible functional equivalents to the news outlets in the other countries.

Further, while not sensationalist per se, Spanish journalist culture does belong to what has been termed as a "polarized pluralist media system," in which many different outlets openly back certain political stances (Dalen, De Vreese and Albaek, 2011, 909). Over time, the ownership of the media outlets in Spain has become "increasingly dominated, not by industrialists with their primary interests outside the media, but by two broad multimedia conglomerates" each of which supports an opposite political stance, and around which other news outlets -- such as the two in question here -- tend to align themselves (Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002, 179). As a result, reporting tends to be more openly partisan in nature, while the image of the journalist, opinionated or otherwise, as autonomous from political pressures of the ownership is limited (ibid). Thus, like in Poland, news outlets often report openly biased opinion, but they do so in such a way that "Spanish newspapers are said to represent distinct political tendencies and to take an advocacy role, mobilising their readers to

support different causes" along ideological lines (Bonafont and Baumgartner, 2013, 67). On the other hand, like in Britain, news outlets have a more consistent editorial stance. But, this stance remains relatively blatant in reportage, while Spanish journalists view "their role as sacerdotal rather than pragmatic and partisan rather than impartial" (Dalen, De Vreese and Albaek, 2011, 916). These aspects provide a starting point for the justification of the selected Spanish press outlets. Once differing journalistic cultures and environments are taken into account, all six of the outlets in the three case study countries can be said to fulfill similar roles within their respective public spheres, as they all are relatively major news outlets that take the relevant editorial stance across national contexts, tend towards some form of biased reporting, and through their popular appeal, favor low-information, lower quality reporting.

Selection of timeframe, type of sources to be analyzed and methodology of the study

As the integration process continued, the supranational institutions encountered more resistance to integration during times of economic downturn. Thus, evidence indicative of the discourse/identity clash in each of the three sample states should be more visible; market integration continued during a time in which their economies came under increasing pressure during the post-2009 economic crisis. This downturn stood to increase incentives for perceptions of 'loss' from the integration process.⁵⁹ Within this time period, an event or events that occurred simultaneously in all sample EU countries is needed to compare the cases in a parallel manner over the same time frame (Thomas, 2011). Additionally, these events should have known outcomes with regard to free movement of persons and EU integration in order to help determine

⁵⁹ While Poland remained the only EU Member State to avoid outright recession during the economic crisis, growth in the country did slow from 7.2% in 2007 to 1.7% in 2013. (Source: World Bank).

whether the cause of clash between EU discourse and national identity was in operation (Bennett and Elman, 2006). The most significant period relating to movement of persons in the EU during the crisis is the year leading up to the end of Romania and Bulgaria's 'adjustment period' and anticipated entry into the Schengen area starting at the beginning of 2014 (Haładyj, Nodzykowski and Rakowski, 2012; Balch and Balabanova, 2014; Rodriguez-Planas and Farre, 2014). Additionally, it was during this time that Croatia acceded to the EU. By looking at the news reporting in the sample countries during the timeframe running-up to (and in the case of Croatia immediately after) these additional countries' citizens gaining increased status or membership in the EU, it will be possible to discern manifestations of the discourse/identity clash, both in relation to free movement itself and with regard to other aspects of the integration process.

While using the run-up to the UK referendum on EU membership was considered as an alternative timeframe due to the clear role of national debates regarding EU migration connected to it, the decision was ultimately made to examine 2013 for the following reasons: 'Brexit' obviously does not affect all of the case study countries in, at least nominally, the same way as would Croatia's accession and the 2007 expansion Members' adjustment period end. Additionally, for much of the time during which the research was conducted, the outcome of the UK referendum, as well as further fallout from its result, remained uncertain and unknown. Further, during 2013, many of the specific foundations were laid for both the UK referendum and popular discontent in Poland with its pro-EU party. Eurozone debt restructuring was ongoing.⁶⁰ Thus, use of the 2013 time frame fits both the requirements of encompassing events

⁶⁰ For instance, David Cameron's speech in which the re-negotiation and referendum was announced occurred in early 2013. Much of the Polish popular press' reporting on the 'complicity' of PO with foreign 'intervention' from

related to the free movement of persons that had clearly known outcomes, which occurred in nominally the same way with regard to all case study countries. At the same time, it remains mindful of subsequent developments.

As a final caveat, it should be noted that examining two separate time periods, with one much further in the past, leading up to the EU-10 expansion in 2004, was also an option. But, this presented problems insofar as determining functional equivalence of the sources to be analyzed. This was especially true in the case of Poland where the popular media environment had only begun to 'settle' around or after that time. Further, this would not succeed in providing a true longitudinal analysis of how sentiments generally developed over time, but rather only two snapshots of timeframes that remain rather far removed from one another (Hakhderdian, et. al, 2013). The fact that the period chosen for analysis covers an entire year does provide some longitudinal element, in that it allows for traceability of certain specific issues over that time, while allowing for higher levels of granularity and contextualization of them. The point here is to provide a picture of how identity may stand to influence interest perception of consequences of free movement once that right had become entrenched as a highly visible phenomenon among other aspects of integration.

Methods to be used: Qualitative narrative-frame content analysis

As addressed in the theoretical chapter, I argue that use of the five W's and an H and CCR formats in the news media embodies and reinforces national perceptions of free movement

Brussels and Donald Tusk's consideration of taking up a position in one of the EU institutions as "fleeing" the country during 2013, dovetails nicely with its tenor of reporting during the 2015 Polish presidential and parliamentary elections (Tusk as Poland's newest economic emigrant, etc.). By contrast, the (still ongoing) sovereign debt restructuring in southern Eurozone countries and the actions of the Troika were followed very closely in the Spanish press.

of persons as a part of integration within the single market of the EU. It is true that politicians and/or other political action groups can be considered as newsmakers as they try to define their own side of the narrative regarding an event or issue to the public. Yet, as I have maintained, focusing only on their speeches or statements directly would provide an incomplete picture of identity-based discourse regarding the EU. Mass-mediated news makes use only of "specific quotes which best fit the general purpose of the article...the quotations are thus de- and re-contextualized, i.e. newly framed. They can partly acquire new meaning in the specific context of press coverage" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009, 90). When analyzing selected information it was also an option to make use of either interviews with journalists, regarding how they (say that they) assemble news stories, or focus groups regarding how citizens perceive news narrative related to EU issues. Yet, this would reveal only possibly incomplete or inaccurate perceptions, of the role of news in relation to the discourse of the public sphere, rather than the actual narrative structures of which the reports make use, in order to implicitly define the terms of a given debate. Put another way, even if a journalist or news consumer is aware that a certain political or editorial stance is extant in the reportage of a media outlet, this says little about how its narrative content continues to reflect perceptions of newsworthiness and the 'proper stance' that the audience should take regarding 'deviant' events.

Further, as Wodak et al. have noted, the purpose of interview-centered methods can be to gain a closer understanding of the role of private discussion in molding the construction of national identity (2009). Yet, the setting of a focus group or even a rather unstructured interview is likely to cause participants to modify their responses, especially when dealing with topics often related to migration, such as racism and national stereotypes, which can be considered taboo (Wright, 2007). For this reason, the discourse regarding EU integration in the news content

itself is of relevance in backing out the discourse/ identity clash; news stories "take up everyday discourse, bundle it, bring it to the point, or - especially in the case of the yellow press - spice it up with sensationalist or populist claims" despite possible appearances of objectivity in some countries (Jager and Maier, 2009, 48).

The aforementioned universal journalistic components of the five W's and an H and the CCR format provide a framework through which this 'bundling' occurs in the form of a narrative. However, conducting analysis only quantitatively according to these categories, while possibly telling us which aspects of these formats are most responsible for bringing national identity-based interests and EU discourse regarding free movement to clash, would say little about how these storytelling aspects are situated positively or negatively in specific stories or on specific issues (David et. al., 2011).⁶¹ In fact, it is due to the generalizability of the five W's and an H and CCR formats across most all varieties of news reports that the context remains key regarding the general topics as well as the specific issues, of which free movement of persons forms a part.

The aim of this study is to illuminate the clash of discourse and identity on specific issues as structured according to news narrative. Thus, a qualitative method of content analysis was emphasized. As will be discussed further below, the analysis can be considered 'thinly' quantitative. I took into account the number of articles relating to certain general, valenced, topics (as opposed to specific issues), and the strength of their anti-integrative sentiment through the portrayal of EU integration as deviant. This was done according to the structure of each

⁶¹ As Lecheler and De Vreese point out, when analyzing the valence framing of content, individual words carry little meaning, such that simply coding valence only according to 'good' or 'bad' words would lead to a situation in which both the statements "I think Serbia should not join the EU. They will have a bad influence on our country" [and] "It is not a bad idea to get them aboard" would be flagged as in the same negative category (2009, 82).

aspect of the news storytelling formats. However, I make such determinations in a qualitative manner to enhance the contextual depth of the inquiry. It may be true that use of a more quantitative approach involving previously selected keywords would have been likely to provide information regarding whether EU migration or integration was discussed in some instances. Yet, it does not take into account how, in a valenced manner, those words fit into the contextual narrative of a news story and of the larger constructed issue of which it may be a part (Welsh, 2002). Further, making predeterminations regarding which words are indicative of resistance to the EU, to free movement, or to one of the storytelling formats' aspects, precludes that reports may use other words, phrases or may simply suggest a certain stance simply by implication. Thus, the research design does structure the analysis according to the narrative storytelling formats in a deductive manner to provide some framework for determining if and in what way a news story, or part of it, is evidence of clash. However, the categorization of stories according to those formats, and discernment of specific issues, is accomplished inductively. This approach was also used insofar as the creation of topical narratives regarding EU integration (built from the 'what') within the news narrative formats.

Many aspects of Critical Discourse Studies provide a tempting means by which evidence of clash between EU discourse of solidarity of opportunity in a single market and national identity-based interest perceptions can be discerned amid a plethora of situational natures of specific news items. CDS would stand to focus on the issue of portraying EU migration as problematic with relation to other aspects of integration, and how said framing can serve to reinforce national identity with regard to free movement (Van Dijk, 2009). As Carta and Wodak mention, this method is particularly well suited to news story analysis: It focuses on “language and discourse in order to analyse ways in which agents form their identities and interests in

dynamic interaction with the social context" (2015, 5). With respect to the reinforcement of identity conception through narrative, drawing awareness from said method should also serve to highlight ways in which "Identity politics on all levels...entails the integration of past experiences, present events and future expectations" in the news (ibid).⁶²

The 'identity focus' of Critical Discourse Studies would seem to be suited in some ways to unpacking sources of resistance to EU integration as resultant from identity conception. However, it was ultimately decided that other factors make its use problematic for purposes of this study. Its focus on discourse remains understood in rather expansive terms such that it seeks to examine "*Not* Discourse in itself...but analysis of dialectical *relations between* discourse and other objects, elements or moments as well as analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse" (Fairclough, 2013, 4). The stance implied by this broader conception of discourse is not necessarily at odds with the constructivist manner in which I argue that identity and interests are directionally co-construed and reinforced within the public sphere. Analyzing the content of news articles does serve to provide as concrete a snapshot as can reasonably be expected of relevant valenced narratives and how they became constructed (Reese, 2007). However, the focus of CDS on linguistic aspects of text in order to problematize discrete, power relations with regard to how said public debate is promulgated remains redundant to this, or un-useful if power relations themselves are informed by, or indeed, constructed upon construed identity-interest considerations (Bloor and Bloor, 2013). Therefore, it is this 'internal component' of discourse as present simply in the content of news which serves as a means by which to access popular

⁶² Wodak and Meyer further note that the presence of national identity conceptions in discourse would constitute a 'justificatory strategy' aimed at "The conservation and reproduction of national identities or narratives of identity" in order to provide a reason for viewing an issue which violates that identity negatively (18).

conceptions regarding free movement of persons and EU integration. While inspired by CDS's general mindfulness of identity politics and its normative implications, the research design focuses more on 'news discourse' in news content's reflection of identity-interest constructions. This was done with an eye to "making inferences by systematically...identifying specified characteristics within text" through the sorting of "all occurrences of relevant...recording units into these categories" of news storytelling in a form of structured narrative content analysis (Stone in Tesch, 2013, 28; 79).

When coding the articles, the option of using an electronic platform, such as NVivo was considered. However, the decision was made to code the articles manually. This choice flowed from the following bases: Although the discernment of the valenced topics ('*What*') was accomplished inductively, the main pre-set narrative elements of the 5W's and one H and above that, CCR, provide concrete categories for the analysis of deviance from national identity conception with regard to the free movement of persons. Thus, little added value was seen in the use of such a program other than simply reproducing this framework with coding nodes. Generally speaking, NVivo does allow for the consolidation and comparison of data according to different nodes and helps control for the existence of other relationships between nodes or other sections of text through its ability to run queries for similar words or themes (Bazeley and Jackson, 2013). However, Polish (and for that matter continental Spanish) is not supported as a content language in the program. Relatedly, the declension-based nature of Polish grammar severely truncates the ability of the program to run queries effectively; the use of wildcard and character replacement signs completely deactivates the functions that search for stemmed or

similar words.⁶³ While it is somewhat possible to run queries for an exact word by using the 'root' of that word, this belies the fact that some roots are also used in many other words. Paradoxically, the fact that NVivo takes into account Polish diacritical characters when running queries means that in many cases those roots are even shorter, and thus less unique. While it may have been possible to use a computer program for the coding of the English language sources, the need to use the same methodology across cases precludes this. Therefore, beyond the five W's and one H, articles were rerecorded in a manner similar to that used by Van Dijk: According to the name of the paper that they came from, date and whether or not they touched upon free movement, regardless of whether it was the main topic of the story, as well as the status of an article as a report or opinion piece (2015, 9). Additionally, topic narratives regarding the main valenced point of the story were created in order to give a better sense of *'What'* was discussed with relation to the EU. Once collected, articles were compared according to the five W's and one H as nested in CCR, general reference of free movement as well as according to the topic narratives in Excel, using a system that cross-referenced them by date and topic. This allowed for more examination not just of the content of news articles, but also how this content was communicated in terms of narratives about various multi-sided issues.

Thus, moving forward, the empirical findings were organized according to five W's and an H within the CCR framework as units of news content that give rise to either positive or negative valence narratives across topics and/or issues. When analyzing valence as present in

⁶³ In order to get a second opinion regarding my suspicions with reference to the feasibility of using NVivo with the Polish language, I attended training at the University of Warwick on the program. When I asked the instructor about using the program with Polish sources he confirmed that there was no "elegant" way of overcoming the problems of the declension-based grammar within the capabilities of the program. On a related point, I find it interesting that neither Russian, nor any other Slavic language that makes use of declensions, is supported as a content language by NVivo.

content it is necessary to take into account "not only simply [its connection] to indicative words such as 'good' or 'bad'...[but to] evaluate these words in their context" (Licheler and De Vreese, 2010, 82). The use of these formats as an organized framework of recording units makes comparison across case studies easier than if the data were addressed in a country-by-country manner. At the same time, it is more directly relatable to the sources of a given narrative. This organization makes it possible to see what aspects of the EU's interest-based market-making rationale comes to clash with resilient national identities within broader news narrative. Such remains the case in instances where aspects of the supranational market-making process were portrayed as threateningly deviant from nationally rooted identity-based conceptions. As such, this design follows, to some extent, in the footsteps of other qualitative analyses of news content related to EU integration. It focuses on the valenced narration of events (i.e. whether integration was seen to cause or resolve deviance) in news stories, such that they have the power to help define the character of an event or issue in the mind of the news consumer (Schuck and De Vreese, 2006; De Vreese, 2007; Touri and Rodgers, 2013). Yet, at the same time, it uses the storytelling formats as a means by which to structure which issues related to free movement and integration were deviant (or not) both within and *across* different issue-specific narratives. This is as opposed to simply coding articles as generally positive or negative, or through assigning rigid frames with non-judgmental frame descriptors, such as 'human interest' or 'economic consequences' (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, 95-6).

More specifically, by nesting the five W's and an H storytelling components as categories within the Crisis-Conflict-Resolution story progression format, it is possible to delineate which aspects of journalistic storytelling in the media are most influential in activating aspects of clash between EU interest-based discourse and national identity-based interest within national public

spheres. Coding, with respect to this part of the analysis, was accomplished by assigning a value of 1 to aspects of the five W's and an H storytelling format which portray an event related to EU integration as deviant from nationalistic norms. Through this, it is possible to back out which facets of the five W's and one H, in thematic terms of CCR format, are most prominent in shaping a given broader issue such as to foment resistance and national identity re-entrenchment (Scheufele, 2006). Thus, it was possible to assign a value of 1 to 6 for each story, with values closer to six indicating a more deviant or even threatening portrayal of EU integration. This allowed one to immediately discern which aspects of the storytelling formats were most salient in shaping the portrayal of events in a given sample country. Beyond this, specific issue narrative categories regarding EU integration were created, as the analysis of press items was carried out in order to widen analysis by producing a picture of how EU migration fits into the construction of issues regarding integration as a whole. Still, it is sometimes across these valenced topics that news narrative may build certain issues into an overall negative valence and thus suggest a stance of moral panic over integration to the audience.

When designing the study, however, it should be pointed out that some challenges were encountered resulting from differences in the manner in which journalists use the storytelling formats to construct individual news stories episodically and the more EU-narrative oriented manner in which they are used here: Namely, in order to back out aspects of identity-based sources of resistance to integration, as reported in news in terms of the CCR format, it was necessary to conceive of certain aspects of the study so as to mediate between the role it plays in journalistic reporting in general, and how the format interfaces with narratives related to EU integration. More specifically, in order to make use of the five W's and an H components to assess deviance of the EU single market in news issue-narratives regarding EU integration, I was

forced to think of them such as they may come to define a certain positive or negative frame, specifically related to the EU, within a given article, no matter what the main internal narrative was. Thus, I assigned a given component of the 5 W's and one H according to when it should relate to various aspects of the integration process in terms of how it might be connected negatively to deviance at a certain part of the CCR narrative format. Then, this component assigned that component a yes/no question that addressed integration being negatively related to deviance (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) (See figure 3). This is, however, much narrower than how they are used, more generally, by journalists to construct individual stories; oftentimes the component, or at least one aspect of it, that is interpreted to be the most deviant, leads an article and thus causes the crisis within that news story. The others are structured in no set manner from story to story according to a CCR internal to that story, in a more episodic sense (Patterson, 1997; Jha, 2008).⁶⁴

Table 2: Example of movement of persons structuring according to news formats

Crisis (EU integration) →		Conflict (Discourse/Identity Clash) →		Resolution (Resistance to EU)	
What?	Why?	When?	How?	‘Where’?	Who?
Does the story refer to EU integration or an issue	Is the EU/integration presented as negatively related to the	Is the story contextualized as occurring when discord between	Is an action related to implementation of EU policy portrayed as	Is the event occurring within the nation-state, or does it	Are actors responsible for resolving the conflict portrayed as

⁶⁴ For example: Questions asked here with reference to the five W's and an H follow more closely along the lines of, with regard to free movement as part of integration: What topic made the news? Why is it news? To Whom was responsibility attributed? While, in their journalistic use, questions would need to answer, in general: "What happened? Why did it happen? Who was involved? It is easy to see how these questioning aims can use the same framework to produce different answers, neither of which conflicts or is incorrect.

related to it?	crisis-juncture?	national and EU levels negatively is evident?	causing conflict ?	have wider 'European' implications?	national, or is there a 'European' aspect?
1/0 (if 1 →)	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0	1/0
(if 1) ↓ Topical narratives	↓ Topical narratives	↓ Topical narratives	↓ Topical narratives	↓ Topical narratives	↓ Topical narratives
← Issues →					

When considered in terms of both the journalistic usage and the way they are used here to analyze news narrative on a certain topic, the five W's and one H components remain discreet in the abstract. Yet, they are not necessarily completely separate: The same section of an article can represent more than one component, although in different ways according to different senses. In the episodic sense, the same component can have multiple different aspects throughout the article. Put another way, simply because an aspect of a news report constitutes, for instance, a 'why' or a 'who' does not mean that it is *the* 'why' or 'who' with regard to integration (see table 2). Thus, as a forewarning, the empirical chapters of this thesis offer quotations as exemplars of framing in a certain aspect of the five W's and one H, with regard to free movement. However, for the above reasons, it may be possible for the reader to discern other components, generally, in the same quotation (for instance, with the '*When*' and the '*How*').⁶⁵ This is unavoidable.

Insofar as the creation of a CCR issue narrative, this produces said narrative of aspects as 'good' or 'bad' with relation to integration only in their aggregate. The difference between the two uses (the event narrative of a single article and the macro issue narrative related to integration)

⁶⁵ For instance, it is difficult for a report to discuss temporal context in terms of a crisis-event ('*When*'), without immediately referencing actions taken within that context ('*How*'), by the actors on both sides of the issue (a '*Who*').

presented considerations for the coding of articles. As mentioned above, in order to 'translate' between the two uses I coded each article as a whole according to the six 'dimensions' of the five W's and one H, with regard to whether a given aspect of it related to integration as causing or resolving deviance within narrative. As such it is different from other content analyses that have been done, such as those of the Europub project, as it focuses on aspects of content in news as narrative rather than merely what was said, or on one aspect of the narrative as the unit of analysis (Pfetsch, 2004; Koopmans, 2004).⁶⁶ At the same time, it seeks toward thicker analysis of the actual news content in which a given aspect of the narrative content was reflected, rather than a more numerical approach.

Further, due to the conception of deviance as constituting newsworthiness in context of possible national interest violation, the first of the 6 categories (what), for purposes of the study, necessarily registers as 'deviant.' In order to be included in the corpus and assigned a score according to the rest of the five W's and one H framework, it must at least constitute 'abnormal', EU-related change within the national milieu.⁶⁷ Thus, when addressing the first of the narrative components, focus is placed on valenced topical narratives that were discussed in news relating to free movement in relation to integration on the whole. How stories whose topics focused on free movement related to the broader press discourse on integration is relevant. The selection of

⁶⁶ Additionally, the Europub projects produced in 2004 have less to say about the issues of intra-EU migration as related to the Europeanization of the medias of EU Member States. The studies were conducted before the EU-10 Expansions, after which free movement of persons became a more visible phenomena.

⁶⁷ According to this analytical framework, an event, generally speaking, that would register as 0 in terms of 'what' would not be considered to constitute any deviation from 'normalcy' and thus would not be considered newsworthy. For example, English citizens moving between cities within England in order to take up a employment would not be likely to be reported in the English media as a crisis-event in and of itself, as it is considered a 'normal', everyday event in terms of national identity conception. Put simply, it is not 'news'.

these stories to be produced as news, and how they are valenced relative to others, implies its own form of normative judgment (Entman, 1993). Subsequently, however, the point of this study is to back out from news narrative what issues related to free movement of persons serve to activate the discourse/identity clash. Therefore, only articles that related at some point to said right were focused on more textually, according to the five other elements. This allowed for more in-depth analysis of which components of stories related to free movement were portrayed as negatively deviant, as elaborated in reporting both over and across various events and topics that were produced as news, such as to give rise to specific issues. As such, the concept of deviance can be thought of as allowing for operationalization of the five W's and H in terms of CCR news story narrative format. When related to EU integration, and free movement specifically, they serve as tools for eviscerating the discourse/identity clash, by mediating between the ideational level of identity-based interest perception and its manifestation as produced by journalists the relevant news content.

Overview of the data: Differences in amounts of 'deviance' in Poland, UK and Spain.

In the remainder of this section, I give a brief overview of the nature of resistance to EU integration in the overarching aggregation of narratives of press storytelling for the examined newspapers. Possibly in keeping with the identity-based accounting of interest perception that I have advanced, results show that the level of anti-integrative press discourse was much lower in Spain -- the country where national identity remains somewhat contestable. On the other hand, portrayal of EU integration as negatively deviant remains more sharply evidenced in Poland and Britain. However, news reporting still positioned integration in a manner that was threateningly deviant on the whole in all three countries, though to different extents. When news items that

related in some aspect to the free movement of persons were separated from those that do not, press narrative regarding it remained valenced negatively (more than 50% overall) in all three countries. Though, in the UK, free movement related stories carried a more strongly negative connotation. In Poland, deviance related relatively more negatively to stories that related to EU integration, but not free movement. In Spain, stories related to free movement were only slightly negatively valenced, while remaining more a bit more problematic than for the entire corpus of Spanish articles. This begins to point some differences in attitude toward free movement as a part of integration in relatively equivalent discourses. Across cases, public disgruntlement as reflected in news did exist. As we will see in the coming sections, sources of this deviance would seem to find their basis in emotive identity-based claims, in which the EU discourse is not countenanced or is itself considered to be deviant in a self-evident rather than in an interest-based manner.

Is free movement worth it? The narrative of deviance in Poland

Overall, for the two popular Polish publications analyzed during the 2013 time period, a total of 111 articles were found that relate to EU integration (Table 4). Of those, 68.8% of their narratives' content related to the integration of the EU, in light of the Polish experience. Unsurprisingly, the general corpus of news stories was presented as being related negatively to crisis foremost, in 78.8% of the cases. At the same time, as the issue narrative develops, conflict between levels of governance was less apparent than need of national resolution, indicating that the EU-level discourse was offered up as a side of the story less often than issues related to integration were discussed as crisis events.

Table 3: Overall Figures for Polish popular press narrative of integration

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
111	64	64	68	71	76
87.5		66		73.5	
100%	57.80%	57.80%	61.30%	64.00%	68.50%
78.80%		59.40%		66.20%	
Overall: 75.6/111					
68.80%					

The 49 stories which do not relate to free movement of persons in any way, but still refer to the integration process, framed events related to integration as negatively related to causation of a deviant crisis-event in 86.7% of articles (Table 4). However, in the 62 stories that were related to the right of free movement of persons (Table 5), topics related it do not appear as standing to assuage this, being portrayed as negatively crisis-related in 73% of cases. While, as argued for by transactionalist theories of integration, this may possibly appear to indicate the beginnings of a more interest-based cost-benefit analysis, this is not the case. Despite clear net-benefits of EU membership to Poland, stories which relate to EU integration, but don't mention free movement, chose to problematize aspects of the integration process that are seen as not largely positive for Poland. Only 'unpleasant' aspects of free movement were more deviant in the selection of what gets produced as news in the first instance. The EU discourse of opportunity in a single market is countenanced less often in terms of Conflict than Crisis and Resolution. This could point to possible evidence to said discourse clashing with the filters of resilient national identity.

Table 4: Figures related to aspects of integration other than free movement in Poland

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
49	36	40	36	31	34
42.5		38		32.5	
100%	73.50%	81.60%	73.50%	63.50%	69.40%

86.70%	77.60%	66.30%
Overall: 37.6/49 76.7%		

Table 5: Figures for Polish stories relating to free movement

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
62	28	24	32	40	42
45		28		41	
100%	45.10%	38.70%	51.60%	64.50%	67.70%
73%		45.16%		66.10%	
Overall: 38/62 61.3%					

State-based immigration and inferior EU policy: The narrative of deviance in the UK

The analyzed periods for each of the UK newspapers during 2013 produced a corpus of 184 articles, whose topics related to EU integration (Table 6). As with the Polish case, the reported events were negatively related to the causation of crisis the largest majority of the time: 88% in the case of the island country. Also as in Poland, the issue narrative develops such that conflict over integration quickly became subsumed into domestic political debate, rather than treat the supranational discourse of market benefit as a side in the narrative in instances where a newsworthy event related to integration. Again, this overview could indicate support for the activated presence of a clash between the EU interest-based discourse and the primacy of national identity retrenchment in news production.

Table 6: Overall figures for UK popular press narrative of integration

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who

184	141	122	104	142	167
162.5		113		154.5	
100%	76.60%	66.30%	56.50%	77.20%	90.80%
88%		61.40%		84.00%	
Overall: 143.3/184					
78%					

In a like manner, the 106 stories that touched on the right of free movement of persons were even more negatively related to crisis, than in the overall dataset (Table 7). Overall stories relating to this right regarded the EU negatively and viewed national leaders as the primary responsible actors for resolving deviance across narratives related to free movement about the same amount of the time as in the entire corpus. However, unlike the Polish case, crisis caused by topics related to the EU was related to deviant Conflict with it a majority of the time, while still registering the lowest figures relatively. Thus, the British papers may seem to be relatively more aware of the EU -- and its discourse -- with relation to what constituted the sides of the conflict. However, it remains the weakest of the three narrative aspects, and often seems not to carry the day, either as a side of the story, or in terms of Resolution. Again, in keeping with what I have argued, this could again belie viability of interest-based discourse once the prism of national identity is taken into account.

Table 7: Figures relating to free movement of persons in UK

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
106	86	72	64	92	95
96		68		93.5	
100%	81.10%	67.90%	60.40%	86.80%	89.60%
90.60%		64.20%		88.20%	
Overall: 82.8/106					
78.10%					

The 78 articles that relate to EU integration, but not to the free movement of persons, reflect the same pattern, possibly indicating that events relating to free movement were written of as one part of the deviant 'threat' caused by the opening of the UK borders to other states in Europe (Table 8). In other words, said fundamental freedom made the news as a possible crisis-causing element. Thus, it was viewed negatively as one of many other conflictual aspects of integration, which were also problematic. Indeed, overall, stories that involved free movement of persons were slightly more strongly anti-EU.

Table 8: Figures for stories that related to EU integration, but not movement of persons in UK

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
78	55	50	40	50	72
67		45		61	
100%	70.50%	64.10%	51.30%	64.10%	92.30%
85.90%		57.70%		78.20%	
Overall: 57.7/78					
74.00%					

The above begins to hint at the fact that, in both the migrant receiving and sending countries, the free movement of persons was a significant part of the overarching narrative related to EU integration. However, just this brief analysis hints that the EU transactionalist discourse was either considered irrelevant or not credible. As we will see in Spain, the overall popular news narrative was positioned as negatively deviant from interests constructed from national identity as opposed to a more rational, interest-based cost-benefit analysis as well, though in a different manner and to a different extent.

The contestability of Spanish nationalism: The narrative of deviance in Spain

In contrast to the above two sample states, the character of popular press narrative in Spain proved to reveal many differences from either sending or receiving case-study countries. Collection of the corpus for Spain produced 206 articles that pertained to EU integration in general. When aggregated over the five W's and one H format -- and through this -- CCR, their narratives were negatively related to the EU 55.7% of the time, making Spain relatively the most pro-integration national corpus (Table 9). While the above number does still indicate a slight majority of narrative sentiment was threateningly deviant, this does not necessarily mean that articles suggest disapproval of the EU as the resultant issue stance in that proportion of cases. Within this, 70% of articles positioned events related to the EU as standing to cause crisis via generation of relevant narrative uncertainty:

Table 9: Overall figures for Spanish popular press narrative of integration

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
206	79	135	76	82	111
142.5		105.5		96.5	
100%	38.30%	65.50%	36.90%	39.80%	53.90%
70%		51.20%		46.80%	
		Overall: 114.8/206			
		55.7%			

Stories that touch upon integration were to be found in reportage. However, as will be discussed later in greater detail, in only 38.3% of articles was the 'deviant' event making the news (*Why*) due to it standing to have illegitimately negative consequences for Spain. Also, unlike the other two examined countries, the narrative of the CCR format moved in a descending

order: meaning that while conflict with the EU occurred, the EU was *positively* related to resolving deviance in a majority of the news items (Table 10). This is interesting. It suggests a possibility that in lower quality press content of Spain, the EU's discourse of supranational market-based solidarity may be winning out, providing support for a more transactional accounting of European identity formation based off of common interests.

Table 10: Figures pertaining to Spanish narrative of events related to free movement

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
58	21	37	21	26	34
39.5		29		30	
100%	36.20%	63.80%	36.20%	44.80%	58.60%
68.10%		50%		51.70%	
Overall: 32.83/58					
56.60%					

Table 11: Figures pertaining to Spanish narrative of integration, not movement of persons

Crisis		Conflict		Resolution	
What	Why	When	How	'Where'	Who
148	58	98	55	56	77
103		76.5		66.5	
100%	39.20%	66.20%	37.20%	37.80%	52.00%
69.60%		51.70%		45%	
Overall: 82/148					
55.43%					

While 58 stories, whose topics related directly to the free movement of persons, portrayed integration negatively, it was only in a slight majority of the instances. Therefore, framing of conflict with the EU, as well as the need for national resolution was rather neutral or

even-sided in the aggregate (Table 10). The other 148 stories that referred to another aspect of the integration process portrayed events related to integration as negatively related to crisis slightly more often (Table 11). However, the conflict and resolution stages move in descending order with the EU or integration again being positively related to the resolution of deviance in a majority of the cases. As will be developed, however, this is not because the relevant press discourse reflects a conception of integration in terms of common net-interest. Or that the EU discourse does not stand to clash with Spanish *national* identity. Instead, I argue that Spanish national identity, contested among many regions of one press market -- some with secessionist ambitions themselves -- is primed to accept the discourse of a supranational level of governance. Thus, it may be narrated in a more emotively positive manner.

Conclusion

Despite differences in the relation of EU states to the right of free movement of persons, it has been advanced that the clash between an EU transactionalist discourse of solidarity in a single market and persistent national identity-based interests has become activated. These identity conceptions, as taken up in the popular news media, provide a means by which the solidarity ties accorded to interests by national identity conceptions are adjudicated and reinforced within the national public sphere. Above, I have proceeded to set out the means by which this can be witnessed through the selection of sources, in which popular discourse can be analyzed across varying journalistic cultures. I then argued that narrative news storytelling formats of the five W's and an H and CCR are necessary not only for the understanding of the construction of clash through the reporting of deviance from the national norm in news. They also provide a structural

framework by which a 'snapshot' of national identity-based interest conceptions can be taken, showing how the clash is promulgated in media narrative. Finally, I briefly summarized which aspects of narrative were generally considered more deviant than others across the three case study countries. The migrant sending and receiving countries would seem to provide the beginnings of support for the active existence of a clash between the EU interest based discourse and resilient national identity. This is less the case for the Iberian state. In the next chapter I seek to provide context regarding '*What*' topics were flagged as deviant, and '*Why*' certain types of events were created as news. I do so with the objective of identifying the role of identity in influencing these trends in terms of the causation of Crisis.

Five: The Crisis

Introduction

In the previous sections, prospects for the influence of resilient national identities on interest perceptions regarding the free movement of person were discussed. Consequences of that right have become visible as the integration process has proceeded (see chapter 2). The possibility for these identity-influenced interest perceptions to clash with EU discourse of solidarity, based on common interests in free movement, was also elaborated upon (see chapter 3). It was argued that this clash may be most evident among non-mobile, non-elites. Further, the role of the news media's portrayal of events, in terms of identity-constructed crisis narratives, was unpacked (De Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006; Chong and Druckman, 2007). It was maintained that insufficient attention has been paid to the use of storytelling formats which suggest, in some cases, stances of moral panic on the part of their audiences as the 'proper' resolution-stance, if threatening deviance caused by crisis is to be ameliorated. Then, prospects for the operationalization of these storytelling formats were elaborated as an analytical structure, through which national identity conceptions can be backed out, in the reality that the popular news narrative constructs, rather than its 'actual' context (De Vreese, 2010; Ornebring, 2007; Schuck and De Vreese, 2006; Innes 2004). An overall presentation of this study's findings began to suggest that solidarity ties accorded by national identity color interest perceptions, so as to suggest resistance to integration as the proper stance toward integration. However, in possible contradiction of this thesis's argument, this was less the case in terms of the narratives constructed in the Spanish popular news.

Below, I present valenced topical narratives regarding '*What*' topics related to EU integration made the popular news as causing deviant crisis (Bauman, 2002; Hay 1999; Van Dijk, 1988). As mentioned in the methodological chapter, this storytelling component is somewhat different than the other five. In order to be included in the corpus with regard to EU integration, it would have to register as negative. After, '*Why*' an event related to free movement of persons constituted a relevant crisis is examined in greater detail. This component gives justification as to the reason a reported event should be relevant. As such, it begins to reveal the societal normative values, with which reported integration-related crises stand to clash, in terms of conflict, as issue narratives, constructed by the reporting of separate events, moving forward (Scheufele, 1999; Donsbach, 2004).

Anti-integrative tenor was more evident in the migrant sending and receiving countries, rather than in the country that exhibits more mixed flows, in terms of '*What*' was a relevant crisis-topic in the examined press discourse. Finally, justifications for '*Why*' an event constituted relevant deviance suggest that the increased openness of national identity in Spain influences perception of interests in popular Spanish discourse, such that free movement as a part of integration is viewed more positively for its causation of crisis as relevant change (Althiede, 1997). Thus, it could provide possible support for interest-based theories of integration, which this thesis has argued against, theoretically (Kuhn, 2015; Recchi, 2013; Risse 2010). However, as I will argue, the Spanish popular media discourse does not constitute a purely interest-grounded rationale (Medrano, 2003). Further, in the other two states, the more unified reflection of national identity in popular news saw that crisis caused by free movement of persons was more often presented as posing an emotively moral threat. This supports the discourse/identity clash

advanced in chapter three. The EU transactionalist discourse was often considered either irrelevant or problematic in itself, insofar as it caused crisis.

'What' was considered newsworthy: Valenced narratives in popular news across cases

Thus far, an overview has been given of how newsworthy events related to integration in light of free movement were taken up and narrated in the examined news generally, across the CCR narrative framework (see chapter 4). Looking at the number of instances in which events related to integration were selected, or tended to be reflected as deviant at various points over news narrative may offer some indication of the general tenor of popular press reportage, with regard to free movement. Yet, doing so says little about the constructed topics, over which the EU discourse may clash with national identity. It also does not offer many prospects for understanding the manner in which specific events or topics regarding integration and free movement may interact, either in an interest or identity grounded manner (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). In order to more deeply explain 'What' EU-related issues became created as news, it was necessary to create topical narratives for each country. These regarded 'What' was considered worthy to be produced as news in the analyzed press discourse, so as to become included in the corpus. As I argued in chapter four, doing so begins to show which aspects of integration were problematic and whether these narratives were constructed according to interest- or identity-based rationales. These valenced topic narratives also took into account the aggregated positive or negative tenor of the topics discussed. Simply listing the main topics would say little about how a narrative interfaced as deviant -- either based off of interest or identity -- within the relevant news narrative. As we will see, the examined press-constructed topics in Britain could stand to confirm the hypothesis that national identity leads to the influence of interest perception

through the construction of solidarity ties. However, the valenced narratives constructed in terms of 'What' was news in the popular press discourses of Spain and Poland could stand to represent evidence for a more cost-benefit interest-based accounting. I maintain that it may still not be proper to regard them in this manner.

A 'nation' of unwilling inferiors: 'What' was flagged as newsworthy in the Polish press

By far, across both of the news outlets analyzed in Poland, articles generally related to the Western EU Member States viewing the Poles as less than their equals. This occurred despite what was narrated as an implicit promise of equality, which was to come as concomitant with EU membership. Because there were different aspects to this inequality it was necessary to subdivide this first topic category into three separate but related sub-narratives. In addition to the inequality narratives' frequent reference to the free movement of persons, the negative topic that directly related to that right (Table 1, Topic 5) was the most-used specific narrative in Metro, while practically tying for second overall. Further, beyond simple frequency, each narrative tends to mirror another either negatively or positively; integration stands as either causing or standing to assuage threatening, negative deviance. Through this, the newsworthy topics form a two-sided macro-narrative across press articles. Over time, reporting on constructed topics that held integration and/or free movement as a negatively deviant side of the narrative was favored over the production of news about integration's positive aspects. As such, it could be possible to interpret this pattern as evidence of an interest-based, pro versus con analysis within the popular press discourse, across topics. However, both aspects were not addressed in the same story in a cost-benefit style. As will be maintained, this points toward an identity-based narrative, rather than an interest-based account. Thus, this structure would seem to point to wariness of further

integration as a reasonable stance for resolution of 'What' identity conceptions consider to be the 'EU problem.' The manner of discharge of the right of free movement of persons represents a part of it, though the EU's discourse of common benefit is not often addressed outright across topics. Below, I present and briefly describe the main topics that were reported on in the popular news, according to each narratives (Table 1):

Table 1: Topics in examined articles of Polish popular news related to EU integration

Topical narrative	Combined (of 111)	Metro (of 44)	Fakt (of 67)
1. Contrary to the EU's stated ideals, the Western MS do not view the CEE MS as equals (negative).	1. Total 38/34.2%	14/31.8%	24/35.8%
1.1 Economic unequals	9/ 8.1%	7/15.9%	2/3%
1.2 Development-aid related	21/ 18.8%	7/15.9%	14/20.8%
1.3 Negative opinion of Poles	8/ 7.2%	0/0%	8/11.9%
2. Free movement improves equal access to health care (positive).	6/5.4%	3/6.8%	3/4.5%
3. 'Brussels' dictates unpopular policy to the MS (negative).	26/23.4%	7/15.9%	19/28.4%
4. The single market/integration increases accountability (positive).	10/9%	7/15.9%	3/4.5%
5. Free movement of persons isn't a great boon of Membership/moving abroad is stigmatized (negative).	22/18.9%	10/22.7%	12/17.9%
6. Free movement of persons means travel and work abroad are more convenient (positive).	9/ 8.1%	3/6.8%	6/9%

Events related to EU integration as creating topics of inequality with the West

There were nine instances during the examined period in which integration was valenced negatively due to a contention that Western Member States view Poland and/or its citizens as economic inferiors (Table 1, Topic 1.1). All of these cases were related to the free movement of persons in some form. Further, in all of the cases, economic inequality was discussed as having only implications for "our countrymen" as opposed to 'Europe' (Metro, 8 Jan). This would seem to indicate that the EU's discourse of common net-benefit was not being treated as a key part of the issue-narrative that flowed from the crisis. It may not be surprising that the popular press considered the EU, or its discourse, to be relevant less often. However, what is important here is that the fact that this remains the case. It provides support for the argument that the basis for such reporting continues to find its root in national identity conceptions. Ones which do not accord relevance or legitimacy beyond the level of the nation-state, despite the expectations of interest-based integrative rationales.

In further evidence of the primacy of national identity in reporting, cases in which the economic inequality narrative was used painted integration as a moral-violating crisis. Western Member States, mostly Germany and the UK, were written of as holding self-evidently unfounded or hypocritical ideas regarding Polish citizens (Table 1, Topic 1.1). This means that those Western European countries were portrayed as viewing Poles as not being worthy of equal employment and benefits rights, despite the status of Poles as EU citizens. The fact that it was the opinions themselves that constituted negative crisis events (*'What'*), rather than the reasons or rationales behind them, would appear to run counter to the expectation that common interests can

lead to affective solidarity or patriotism with a supranational unit, as has been argued by some (see chapter 3).

Possibly based on Poland's longstanding status as one of the less developed states in Europe, the narrative of unjust inequality most often viewed the character of EU integration as normatively being a form of development aid in terms of it constructing a relevant crisis-topic (Table 1, Topic 1.2). EU structural funds were frequently portrayed in the examined press discourse as aid that Poland is entitled to as a result of supposed promises of equality with the West of the EU in terms of development level. This is as opposed to an interest-based principle of Union-wide solidarity in a single market, or relative economic convergence over time, as is argued by the EU discourse of common, reasonable benefit in integration (chapter 2). Articles rarely mentioned that Poland was already the largest net recipient of EU funding. Seventy nine percent of overall stories that made use of this topic portrayed integration as categorically negative, due to denial, or attempted denial, of EU funding by the West as "taking money from us" (Fakt, 2 May). As I have argued, this begins to provide some evidence for the proposal that the EU interest-based discourse does not get out, as it clashes with the barrier of national identity conception, biased on '*What*' was constructed as news in these discourses.

The final sub-narrative of the more general inequality narrative (Table 1, Topic 1.3) was found only in Fakt, the newspaper with a relatively more sensationalist reporting style and outright populist bent. It is the only one out of all narratives in all of the examined countries that occurred only in one of the examined newspapers. This narrative is similar to the one regarding economic inequality (Topic 1.1). However, there were no concrete legal or economic interests related to free movement perceived to be at issue. Deviance flowed from the self-evidently

unfounded, crisis-causing opinions. This narrative presents Western Europeans as simply not liking Poles, and viewing them as "careless" or as held in "not the best opinion" (Fakt, 24 Jan). Despite this, three-fourths of articles using this narrative topic were related to the right of free movement of persons. Said right was portrayed as facilitating discrimination against Poles. Thus, integration is seen not to be in the national interest due to crisis events, which find their selection-basis within the realm of national identity. Like the economic inequality topic narrative, the EU transactionalist discourse was countenanced relatively less, or was not considered a convincing side of the narrative when addressed (see Chapter 6). As we will see, this would seem to indicate that -- even more so than in the economic inequality narrative -- migration, which makes the crisis possible, is presented as occurring largely between nation-states rather than in a supranational entity. Again, it may seem rather banal that the popular press addresses movement-related events in such a manner. Yet, as I argue, the point is that it is through this mechanism that the level of the nation-state is re-entrenched as the point of affective identification in terms of identity conception. Interest-based rationales for integration are non-viable, as long as those conceptions prevent possible benefits from being perceived.

The fact that benefits related to EU integration were not often perceived as such, above, provides evidence for the tendency of national identity conceptions to influence perception of interests. However, this does not mean that the conception of those identities served as a barrier to the perception of benefit in all of the Polish topic narratives in the examined press discourse. The general narrative of unjust inequality with Western Europe, despite perceived EU values, is the most dominant of all narratives in the popular Polish press. However, the second topic narrative can be understood as standing in opposition to it by presenting the right of free movement of persons positively in relation to the obligations of EU membership (Table 1, Topic

2). This could be said to support interest-based academic arguments regarding support for integration; across topics the benefit provided by integration is insufficient to foster affection to the level of the single market (see Chapters 2 & 3). However, due to how articles in narratives one and two addressed the EU discourse, this is not the case. More specifically, narrative two is directly opposed to the inequality sub-topics of economic and aid-related inequity. It positions the EU as granting Poles equal access to healthcare in other EU states, in the context of the defunct status of the Polish national healthcare provider. Still, it was rarely used, constituting less than 6% of all cases (Table 1). Thus, the Union is painted as causing crisis by solving a Polish national problem through granting a European solution of aid in the form of equal access to healthcare, which can occur thanks to the right of free movement of persons. Improvement of healthcare access is obviously in the Polish interest; it does not stand to induce moral panic. Nothing about it clashes with the perceived interests of Polish identity, even though the latter still may remain primary.

Events related to integration as creating topic narratives of foreign-dictated policy

The second overarching, two-sided topic pairing regarded the imposition of EU policy on Poland, in terms of 'What' was sufficiently crisis-oriented to be produced as news in the relevant discourse (Table 1, Topics 3 and 4). One topic regarded the EU positively, for improving national standards or accountability of politicians in Poland. But, it was only used in 9% of stories relating to EU integration (Table 1). The pro-European topic narrative (Topic 4) lacked a majority of anti-EU sentiment in both the conflict and resolution narrative stages. This is not necessarily evidence of the EU's discourse of solidarity in common net-benefit taking root, according to interest-based accountings of integration. Instead, it is in keeping with other studies

that show Polish identity holds the EU as a source of development vis a vis the West; but also of an undesirable Western hegemony (Kubala, 2008; Góra, 2015).

The other topic narrative in this pairing interpreted the requirement of implementing EU directives and regulations as self-evidently impacting Polish perceived interests, simply for their origination beyond the nation-state. It was the most dominant of any of the specific topics (Table 7). As such, it is not a lack of concrete benefit in integrative measures that is addressed in terms of 'What' made the news. Instead, as I've argued, such measures are considered to be crisis-worthy as due to the identity-based, self-reinforcing prejudices of journalists and readers in a self-evidently threatening manner.

The Crisis-Conflict-Resolution narrative stages remained negatively deviant in a majority of cases in narrative three. Possibly, this could stand to indicate to the readership that moral panic and disintegrative sentiment is the most 'reasonable' stance to adopt if the deviant threat caused by integration is to be eliminated. The 'actual' intentions or consequences of said unpopular regulation were not often mentioned in terms of interests. Again, this would be needed for rationales of common benefit in integration to take root, whether or not such benefit did flow from a given EU policy. Instead, 'What' was deviant were the supranational policies themselves. They were viewed as self-evident signal crimes against the national in-group, caused by the EU's "squandering money" or the "stupid idea[s]" of "Eurocrats" (Fakt, 2 Oct; Fakt, 8 Jan).

Events related to integration as creating topics of free movement as emigration

When migration that was connected with the right of free movement of persons was addressed directly as the main topic of a story, one of two narratives was used. The first

portrayed said right as making movement between Member States more convenient for purposes of travel, often in context of the Schengen Area (Table 1, Topic 6). However, this topical narrative was used in only 8.1% of all stories related to free movement in some way. Like with narrative two, this does not necessarily present evidence for arguments related to the Europeanization of identity through the provision of benefit. Instead, due to the positive nature of this movement for the national in-group, crisis-events of stories remained sufficiently deviant in order to be a news topic, but did not clash threateningly with national identity conceptions in terms of narrative. That EU's discourse of common net-benefit is still not taken up in the topic that focused on free movement in this way is important: It demonstrates, here, the presence of national identity conceptions in influencing '*What*' gets produced as news product.

In further contravention of the EU transactionalist discourse and the academic arguments related to it, the other topic narrative painted the right of freely moving to another EU state as something that was not a special or important aspect of the EU integration process. Free movement was not valenced as a plus of EU membership or was the cause of de-contextualized "alarming information" regarding emigration, in terms of '*What*' was news in the Polish popular press (Table 1, Topic 5; Fakt 28 Oct).

The fact that this specific topic narrative was used in 19.8% of cases, placing it second only to the unpopular policy narrative, is striking. According to interest-based rationales, Poles might view the integration process more favorably if the rights of freedom of movement and establishment were conceived of as a major, interest-based positive, in relationship to negatives of accepting policy from Brussels and receiving unequal treatment at the hands of powerful western Members. Thus, they would be more likely to regard the integration process at least

somewhat more positively. However, this is apparently not the case. The lens of national identity conception prevents the perception of substantive benefit from free movement in terms of the valenced topic created by the portrayal of events selected for reportage.

The above findings make sense due to the fact that, as other research has suggested, Poland's longstanding status as an emigration country has seen to it that such migration has become imbued as a necessity into the Polish collective identity (Maybin, Piekut and Valentine, 2014; White, 2015). When viewed through the lens of that identity, migration to Western Europe as a result of the free movement of persons remains relatively undifferentiated from simple emigration, which in the Polish mindset reflected in popular news, always has and fatalistically will occur. The dependency of Polish self-conceptions caused the right of free movement to be subsumed into a lamented need to "depart abroad for bread" (Fakt, 25 Feb).⁶⁸ Thus, *'What'* was produced as news, with regard to free movement, stood to clash with the EU discourse of net-benefit from common interaction in a single market.

The wider context of the 'reality' of integration, as constructed in the popular press narrative, placed free movement as not being a great boon in Poland. As such, topics related to it did not stand to assuage others regarding the integration process. As we have seen in Chapter 2, some have argued that the economic benefits accorded to the eastern expansion states should cause them to opt for, or at least comply with, integration (Moravcsik, 1991; Moravcsik and Vachudova, 2003). However, this does not appear to be supported by the above. A number of small, positively valenced topic narratives did exist in the examined press of the Polish case. Yet,

⁶⁸ 'For bread' (za chlebem) is a phrase used with relation to emigration to describe situations in which an individual or family moves abroad because they are not able to meet their basic needs in Poland.

as I have maintained, this is merely because 'What' was produced as news in those instances constituted relevant change, but did not conflict with identity-based interest perceptions threateningly (Carey, 2002). In topics that were valenced negatively -- and thus could stand to foment moral panic -- the fact that benefits in integration were not taken up in relation to their crisis-events argues against the presence of an at least somewhat interest-based, cost-benefit analysis. I hypothesized in Chapter 3 that this would be needed for the EU discourse of common net-benefit to take root, or at least be substantively considered (Verhaegen, Hooghe, and Quintelier, 2014). Regardless of the general tendency of the tabloid press to narrate topics in a national manner, the fact that they, indeed, do so in the popular press discourse of a migrant sending state, points toward the non-viability of interest-based rationales for the creation of affection to the single market. Further, it may suggest that national identity conceptions are what influence the selection of 'What' is to be reported in this press discourse, such that the EU's discourse does not get selected as a topic (Van Dijk, 1996).

The British 'Nation' as betters of Europe: Topics deviant from integration in the UK press

The examined Polish popular press did contain some non-dominant narratives, in which events related to integration were narrated in a positive manner. This was not the case in the UK. Instead, all topics were negatively related to integration, for its perceived violation of the interests of the British people (Table 10). The few events that were posited as positive, such as the EU's removal of cell phone roaming charges, were put forth as 'happy accidents,' instrumental to perceived interests of 'the British' within a broader negative narrative.

Table 2: Topical narratives in examined UK articles related to EU integration

Topical Narrative	Overall (of 184)	Daily Mail (of 107)	The Sun (of 77)	
1. Total	54/29.3%	33/30.8%	21/27.3%	
1. 'Brussels' dictates unpopular policy to MS (chiefly to UK).	1.1. The EU budget is too big/wasteful.	9/4.9%	4/3.7%	5/6.5%
	1.2. As MS, UK is powerless to resist senseless directives.	28/15.2%	20/18.7%	8/10.4%
	1.3. EU integration means bad economic governance.	17/9.2%	9/8.4%	8/10.4%
2. Disintegration is (not?) bad for business.	17/9.2%	13/12.4%	4/5.2%	
3.Pro-EU forces refuse to recognize UK's 'exceptionality'.	14/7.6%	9/8.4%	5/6.5%	
4. Continental standards are inferior.	8/4.3%	3/2.8%	5/6.5%	
5. Total	68/37.0%	37/34.6%	31/40.3%	
5. Free movement of persons forces treatment of economic inferiors as equals.	5.1. EU migrants are the 'other'.	28/15.2%	14/13.1%	14/18.2%
	5.2. EU migrants take British jobs.	15/8.2%	10/9.3%	5/6.5%
	5.3 EU migrants are benefits tourists.	25/13.6%	13/12.4%	12/15.6%
6. EU migrants are criminals.	23/12.5%	12/11.2%	11/14.3%	

Two topics by far were the most prevalent. Namely these are encapsulated in narratives one and five (Table 2). The first concerned Brussels' apparent dictation of policy to its Member States, most often the UK. This may sound similar to the reasons for which EU policy events were selected for news production in the examined Polish media. In the UK, EU policy was reported on as being problematic in terms of discreet issue-types, meaning that it was necessary to break down three sub-topics that related to specific issues. The other most prevalent narrative stands in opposition to the Polish problematization of events that were seen to evidence unfulfilled equality as related to EU membership. As we shall see, such a claim of equality is 'What' the British popular press wrote of as an unacceptable result of being in the EU. As with the Polish equality narrative, British selection of events as newsworthy signal crimes suggested that economic equality in terms of opportunity of access in a single market was held as morally deviant, though in opposite ways. This became apparent from a plurality of types of events. They conflict not only with the EU's supranational discourse, but also with the Polish claims for equality.

It could be argued that this is merely evidence of a clash of interests between Member States with different relations to the single market. Yet, anti-integrative claims were not advanced through the presentation of representatively signal crime-like crisis-events. Instead, the manner of reporting indicates that the pre-conceived solidarity ties accorded by national identity caused 'What' was taken up as news to appear to plausibly be a threat. In the British popular press discourse, this conception was reflected in topics such as those regarding immigration, benefits tourism, migrant crime and the EU budget. One should not necessarily expect the tabloid-style press, which reflects the examined discourse, to accurately reflect the EU rationale of common net-benefit in integration. However, the fact that this was rarely the case within the

narratives, reflected according to the CCR and 5 W's and an H formats, indicates that these formats serve to reinforce retrenchment of ties of solidarity on the national level, as they interface with resiliently exclusive conceptions of national identity.

*Events related to integration as creating threats of "sovereignty-sapping" 'dictation'*⁶⁹

The first sub-topic related to the size of the EU budget (Table 2, Topic 1.1). On average, the EU budget was seen to be too large and as having ridiculous line items -- including funding for CEE states. This sub-topic related to the EU demanding large sums of British taxpayers' money ('*What*'). These funds were portrayed as often spent on, for instance, "'outrageous and retrograde'" "Pet project[s] dreamed up by the European Parliament" (The Sun, 4 Feb; Daily Mail, 13 Mar). In this way, it can be considered to stand in agreement with Polish press discourse regarding the EU's policies being unneeded in that they waste money (Topic 4 in Table 1). However, in the British case, the emotively problematic manner in which money was spent on "subsidizing" other Member States also stood in opposition to the Polish narration of EU funding as rightful aid (The Sun, 4 Feb). Obviously, being required to redistribute funding of national origin elsewhere is not in the *gross* national interest. However, this is not evidence of mere clashing interests, such that EU citizens are not able to work out their differences in a common, democratic manner (Bellamy, 2013). Instead, as I argued in Chapter 2, the EU interest-based discourse holds that integration provides for as much common net-benefit as can be reasonably achieved, in eventual solidarity with other members. The above popular press topic rejected this rationale, based on the destination of funding to an entity beyond the nation state. It is reported

⁶⁹ Daily Mail, 30 May.

as self-evidently threatening to the national in-group, due to the already existing identity conceptions of the journalists and readership of this press discourse.

The largest sub-narrative of the overarching unpopular policy topic related to EU directives or regulations being nonsensical or pointless (Table 2, Topic 1.2). Additionally, the national in-group was portrayed as powerless to resist Brussels' "spreading its tentacles into aspects of...national life" as a result of EU membership (Daily Mail, 23 Jan). As we shall see, EU integration was more strongly emphasized as causing crisis, and needing national resolution, rather than resulting during ongoing conflict with supranational levels of governance as a side of the story. Possibly this could indicate less discussion of 'actual' costs or benefits, in terms of the EU discourse behind regulations. Once again this points to the antecedent role of identity in influencing how this press discourse reports in the way that it does. Instead of taking up something that may be very relevant to '*What*' was considered to be newsworthy, national identity conceptions influence the perceptions of interest in narrative, making it appear less credible or relevant.

In a similar manner to sub-topic 1.2, the third sub-topic for the unpopular policy dictation category also narrated the EU and/or powerful continental Member States as attempting to dictate senseless policy to the UK (Table 2, Topic 1.3). However, in the case of topic narrative 1.3, the newsworthy deviant crisis was that the "'badly wrong'" policies in question that were portrayed as working to the financial detriment of British business or persons specifically (i.e. the national in-group), rather, unsurprisingly, than pointing to affective identification with other Member States through apparent common interest (Daily Mail, 30 Jan). Again this could indicate less support for interest-based accountings of the formation of affective European solidarity.

However, the fact that the three narrative stages all related to integration negatively does not belie the possibility for the EU's rational to have been considered and rejected in many stories, in terms of integration failing to provide net-benefit.

Within the grouping of topic narratives relating to EU policy, another general one related to the perceived effects of EU integration on British business (Table 2, Topic 2). Brussels' 'red tape' was portrayed as causing negative crisis through hindering the competitiveness of UK business, such that the perceived consequences of "maintaining the current relationship" with the EU were self-evidently implied to be "bad for business", when viewed through the lens of national identity conception (The Sun, 15 Apr). However, instead of focusing on the actions of national leaders vis a vis the imposition of EU policy, the 'disintegration is bad for business' topic focused on the perceptions of business leaders and politicians ('*What*') in context ('*When*') of the UK's renegotiation of its arrangement with the EU. Although the stories in question related to integration, the newsworthy crisis-junctures were often caused by the pronouncements of business and political leaders about the foreign nature of integration, instead of investigation into their veracity or 'actual' consequences of lowering barriers to doing business in the single market.

Events related to integration as creating threats to British identity conception

Briefly, two smaller topic narratives were discerned. Both related to the apparent esteem in which the examined UK articles held the national in-group, vis a vis Europe. This is unsurprising, given the press outlets that were examined. However, little evidence was needed in order for articles to portray the UK as normatively warranting special treatment, showing the presence of national identity conceptions in influencing '*What*' gets produced as news. It also

provides a helpful context, as constructed in this news discourse, in which topics more directly related to the free movement of persons existed.

The first of these two topic narratives held that the UK deserved to be able to opt out of EU policies that it does not like, or allowed by Brussels to use the EU only for instrumental British interest, due to an implication that the UK is a different or exceptional nation (Table 2, Topic 3). The EU's taking of a different perspective, most likely in keeping with its discourse, was portrayed as causing crisis leading to conflict with the UK's national leaders, almost as much as the refusal to recognize Britain as "one of the world's great...nations" was negatively related to crisis (Daily Mail, 5 Jan). In all of the events reported on, UK leaders were considered responsible for attempting to enforce British exceptionalism upon the EU. 'Actual' consequences or interests in cooperation were, thus, either not addressed positively or not countenanced in news that used this narrative. This stands to contravene theories that the provision of equal rights in a single market can lead to the creation of mutual recognition of its members, possibly due to British identity-based conceptions regarding the nature of national sovereignty (Medrano, 2003; Nicoladis, 2013).

In a related but separate manner, the fourth topic positioned the UK as being forced to adapt to "European rules" even when those standards were supposedly "of lower quality than permitted in Britain" (Table 2, Topic 4) (Daily Mail, 9 Jan).

The deviant signal crimes were narrated as caused by events wherein the self-evidently inferior nature of standards in other European countries was problematized in context of EU integration generally, rather than in context of implementation of a given policy or investigation of its 'actual' results or outcomes. As I have maintained, this reporting style may be a natural

outgrowth of how journalistic reporting formats interface with national identity-based interest perceptions. Yet, such investigation would be needed to suggest that interest in possible common benefit is primary in influencing identity, or leads to the crafting of a common European public sphere (Koopmans and Statham, 2010; Trenz, 2004).

Events related to integration as constructing threatening topics about immigration

Narrative topics five and six more directly dealt with events related to EU immigration as relevant crisis events ('*What*'). As will be argued, the manner in which the events in these narratives were judged to be crisis-worthy does not support interest-based arguments within the academe for the creation of supranational affection with other members in the single market. Conversely, in the case of the 'EU migrants as others' sub-topic, crisis was related to the EU. It most often occurred within the nation-state. In a notable minority of cases the lifting of immigration restrictions constituted deviance that focused not on EU demands, but instead on Westminster's lifting said restrictions within the realm of local politics. Regarding the possibility for reportage in this discourse on immigration to build into suggestion of stances of moral panic, crisis-events constituted signal crimes that, I argue, clashed with a barrier of identity-based emotive morality.

Mostly, '*What*' was considered newsworthy, in articles belonging to this narrative topic, was the abstractly "scandalous floodgates-wide" numbers of EU migrants, that were portrayed as having come or planning to come to the UK (The Sun, 3 Dec.). This was opposed to any concrete consequences, reported in relation to those numbers. Thus, '*What*' was perceived as problematic about the free movement of persons in popular press discourse had little to do with interest-based consequences. Rather, it focused on the fact that non-Brits were coming to the UK as existentially threatening. What is important here, again, is not the simple fact that this strand

of the media reported in this way. It is that this type of reporting cannot find its roots in interest-based justification. Instead, the self-evidence of the crisis-causing threat flows from national identity conceptions, which were relied upon to legitimate and reinforce the plausibility of the threatening claim in the minds of the readership.

The sub-narrative relating to EU migrants taking the jobs of British people occurred with the least frequency within the general forced equality narrative (Table 2, Topic 5.2). This may be due to the fact that the examined British popular press discourse viewed competition in a liberal market in a positive light. Though, in terms of prospects for national identity conceptions to influence the perception of interest, those instances that were reported were viewed negatively. The examined press discourse did not seem to regard positive views of liberal competitiveness as incongruous with instances of competition in the single market, such that a possible tension between the two was not addressed.

Many stories in this sub-narrative did mention the end of the Romanian and Bulgarian adjustment periods, in relation to perceived negative consequences for the British labor market, that were self-evidently plausible due to the filter of national identity conceptions. These articles explicitly made much less note of how restrictions were being lifted (e.g. because of the EU). Articles in this topic narrative often related to a threatening crisis caused by the ability of relatively poor EU citizens to gain employment in the UK (*'What'*), in the context of unemployment or wage levels (*'When'*). Alternatively, other stories aired comment on UK firms who hire immigrants while not hiring Brits first as self-evidently, "so unfair as to be outrageous," without probing into the EU discourse regarding an equal right to employment across the Union (Daily Mail, 26 July). In support of the argument made by this thesis, these factors seemed to trump the credibility of rebuttals regarding economic or material benefits, in

which the EU rationale was addressed. The narratives flowing from these crisis-junctures suggested resistance as resulting from identity-based moral panic as the stance needed on the part of the readership to enforce dis-integration: What this press discourse held to be a normatively positive resolution.

Fear that EU migrants threatened the job-seeking status of the national in-group appears to have been encouraged by identity-based claims of crisis worthiness in this press discourse. However, as the following topic narrative would seem to indicate, the larger clash of EU discourse with the primacy of national identity-based barriers presented the right of free movement as allowing for a threatening situation in which migrants would come to the UK while *not* intending to seek employment (Table 2, Topic 5.3).⁷⁰ The final sub-topic of the broader forced equality of EU migrants category was also the most strongly anti-EU integration overall. Oftentimes, however, the EU was portrayed as negatively related to the crisis-causing issue, namely because integration was implied to force the UK to treat what were viewed as uniformly "work-shy" EU citizens as equal to members of the national in-group when according them social care (The Sun, 2 Jun).

Largely, the EU discourse of solidarity in a single market was not considered to be a relevant part of topic narrative in these stories. Little attention was paid to what the right of free movement of persons allows for as part of the conflict. As will be discussed in greater detail in the coming chapters, the construction of the EU, and EU migrants as threatening 'others', was constituted in a non-evidenced manner, which runs counter to interest-based rationales for the

⁷⁰ Such claims were made almost purely emotively self-evident in terms of identity conception. As we will see, as narrative on this topic continued, this caused EU migrants to be treated as a folk-devil style 'others'. Yet, this framing is not factual: It is not actually possible for an EU immigrant to simply come to the UK and immediately claim benefits without having first been employed.

creation of European solidaristic affection, when viewed through the lens of the national identity perceptions present in the press reports of this discourse.

The final topic narrative presented criminal acts perpetrated by EU citizens as '*What*' caused threatening crisis (Table 2, Topic 6). Within it, the antagonists were the criminals themselves more than EU institutions. However, integrative policy was portrayed in narrative as an enabling factor. Disintegration was still positioned as the proper solution if EU citizens' seemingly representative ability to commit criminal acts in the UK was to be circumvented. Two main, related issues were repeatedly produced as news in this topic. The first concerned itself with narrating events in which EU migrants in the UK already do commit crimes more than British people. The second concerned the plans of Romanian and Bulgarian "thieves and benefits scroungers" to travel to the UK (The Sun, 31 Dec). As we shall see, the actual representativeness of these instances is implied but not addressed or evidenced in a manner that, as I have argued, would been to have been carried out in order to evidence the viability of transactions in the single market in being in the national interest.

Thus, overall in both the Polish and British cases, free movement was viewed as problematic in relation to other aspects of integration; the EU discourse of solidarity in a single market was not considered to be relevant, or was problematic in itself when viewed through the prism of identity as reflected in the relevant topics of news narrative (*What*). However, what topically was valenced as deviant within the sending and receiving countries, and the disintegrative stances implied by news for resolution of that deviance often were directly opposed, such that assuaging the concerns of those in one state, would amplify precisely what was considered worthy of moral disgust in the other; little recognition or trust was accorded to non-members of the national 'in-group' (Nicolaidis, 2007, 687). However, this was not because

of a clash of interests (Shore, 2000). The EU discourse of common net-benefit in integration, and the academic arguments related to it, hold that as the amount of intra-Union movement increases, that this should give rise to an affective European solidarity. However, this is clearly not the case in the above non-elite press discourses; national identity conceptions may interface with news storytelling formats in order to explain how these outlets report in the way that they do. The above findings are in keeping with other studies regarding UK news framing of issues.

Specifically, it is related to the portrayal of migration as threatening due to a process of framing migrants as an 'other,' rather than weighing interests (Ibrahim and Howarth, 2015; Sartin, 2015).

Yet, the above begins to suggest that as deviant instances related to the free movement of persons became more visible nationally, it was national identity conceptions that colored the character of integration in a threatening manner. However, in the Spanish case this was less evident. As such, it may provide some support for the transactionalist rationales that I have argued may not be viable, leading to national public affection to the single market.

Spain as a nation? What constituted deviant topics in the popular Spanish press

As in the Polish case, the main topics the examined Spanish sources chose to highlight as news related both positively and negatively to EU integration. However, in Poland, the main events in the news were organized around general narratives that reflected negative perceptions about integration, and much less dominant ones that pertained positively to it. In the case of the Iberian country, the pros and cons seemed to be weighed, at least partially, within the main topical narratives. It is also interesting to note that Spain, the country with significant numbers of inflows and outflows of EU migrants, is also the only country in which 'What' made the news in popular discourse held free movement of persons for employment in an overall neutral light. It

also did not overly take major issue with immigration that occurs to Spain as a result of the fundamental freedom. This could provide support for the interest-based theories of European identity formation that this thesis seeks to critique.

However, events related to free movement were not considered newsworthy often in relation to other topics regarding integration. This is true of sub-narrative 1.1 (Table 3). It often sought to laud common economic benefits in the single market more generally. As I have alluded to above, the existence of benefit in free movement as a separate topical discourse may be evidence of an interest-based rationale fomenting an affective identification with Europe (Favell, 1998; Moravcsik, 2013). However, as will be discussed further, this may not be the case when these topics are examined in relation to others that portray integration negatively. I argue that this may be due not to the viability of interest-based models of integration. But instead to the increased contestability of a common Spanish identity from which solidarity ties and interests are constructed.

Table 3: Main topical narratives in Spanish articles related to integration

Topical Narrative		Total (of 206)	La Razón (of 118)	20 Minutos (of 88)
1. Single market is one of the EU's greatest achievements.	1. Total	45/21.8%	35/29.7%	10/11.4%/
	1.1 Single market as one of most important aspects of integration.	15/7.3%	9/7.6%	6/6.8%
	1.2 Single market is threatened by the other Member States.	30/14.6% ⁷¹	26/22.0%	4/4.5%
2. The EU means good fiscal discipline/stability.	2. Total.	46/22.3%	27/22.9%	18/24.5%
	2.1 EU integration is a way	13/6.3%	8/6.8%	5/5.7%

⁷¹ In this: UK 19, Germany 8, Other/Southern Europe 3.

	out of debt/economic crisis(?).			
	2.2 EU policies promote growth.	14/6.8%	7/5.9%	7/8.0%
	2.3 The EU doesn't understand Spanish realities.	18/8.7%	12/10.2%	6/6.8%
3. The EU regulation improves national standards/unity.	3. Total.	40/19.4%	24/20.3%	16/18.2%
	3.1 The EU improves lacking national measures.	30/14.6%	16/13.6%	14/15.9%
	3.2 The EU discourages regional succession.	10/4.9%	8/6.8%	2/2.3%
	3.3. Integration worsens Spain's/southern Europe's circumstances.	20/9.7%	8/6.8%	12/13.6%
	4. FM allows Spaniards better employment opportunities.	14/6.8%	5/4.2%	9/10.2%
	5. EU (& more developed MS) as source of funding.	41/20.0%	19/16.1%	22/25.0%

Events related to integration as lauding the ideal of movement in a single market

On the other hand, the Polish and Spanish press discourses also seem to reflect each other regarding their tendency to highlight funds received from the EU budget and as well as transfers from other Member States, on the surface, in a negative manner. Supranational allocation of this funding was put forth as self-evidently arbitrary, insufficient, and coming with unwelcome restrictions on the 'in-group' country. Thus, while not unexpected in and of itself, given the press discourse examined, this style of narrative regarding EU funds receipt does not reflect an interest-based argument in favor of mutual fairness and identification with Europe as argued for by transactionalist accountings (Kull, 2014). Instead, the role of national identity in altering perceived interest, as reflected in this news discourse, seemed to encourage the selection of stories so as to imply that such funding caused problems for Spain specifically. Despite this

portrayal, the country remained a net recipient of funds. Finally, unlike the British or the Polish cases, in which regulation of the nation-state from the EU was viewed largely as either categorically unwelcome or downright scandalous ('*What*'), Spanish popular press discourse, while selecting events related to it as newsworthy, positively portrayed EU regulation in its narrative. As I will argue, it may be due to the highly regional nature of the Spanish identity as taken up in popular, national press discourse that this is the case, rather than a true interest-based accounting (Jauregui, 2016).

In the case of the first 'great achievements' sub-narrative, it was news about the single market, rather than consequences of it, that was flagged as deviant so as to be a relevant topic in terms of '*What*' got produced as a news story (Table 3, Topic 1.1). Mostly this was due to a tendency to highlight the integration process as continually uncertain in a Europe of nation-states. Thus, this could be considered to be an interest-based argument. However, the content of the articles in the examined Spanish discourse did not accord recognition to other Member State groupings as argued for by interest-based rationales for creation of affection to Europe, which are reflected in the supranational discourse (See Chapters 2 and 3).

In many cases; more so in *La Razón*, the contentiousness or negative deviance present in topic narrative 1.1 came from the fact that the single market was painted as a major reason for the UK to remain in the EU, or was positive for its application of universal rules that did not give special preference to certain groups over others; however articles contradictively decried the market integration process in instances where it was seen to have negative consequences for Spain. In others, mostly in *20 Minutos*, integration of the single market was seen to offer added protection and security for 'the Spanish' as a united nation with common identity. Again, a focus

on the 'national angle' is not necessarily surprising in terms of 'What' was considered to be news in this discourse. Nonetheless, its presence does not support an accounting of the integration process, based on reasonable interests justifying fair allocation or mutual solidarity.

The main difference between narratives 1.1 and 1.2 was that in the second, the recalcitrance of other EU Member States was the main focus of the articles (Table 3). The anti-integrative measures of other Member States were what caused crisis that related negatively to EU integration. This topic narrative perceived the integration process to be risky and uncertain. Supranational interactions could hold inherently undeserved consequences for Spain, rather than provide mutual benefit. EU-level discourse, though discussed, was seen to lack credibility. It clashed with national identity conceptions in other Member States: Often the UK or Germany. A large subset of articles in this topic narrative were concerned with the EU involvement over Spain's ongoing disputes with UK over Gibraltar and border controls between it and Spain proper. In other words, this topic held the single market as something that would be a net positive for Spain in particular, if it were not for the "instabilities and threats" caused by having to illegitimately share that market with other national groupings (La Razón, 24 Mar). Interestingly, the EU was seen as offering a solution for the possibility to bring these other states to heel and thus resolving the threatening deviance caused apparently by common conflictual interaction for the Spanish national group. As such, taken by itself, it could stand to argue against the conceptual framework advanced in this dissertation; the EU is painted as a solution to European disunity.

Events related to integration as Eurozone governance and consequences of austerity

The first sub-topic of the second general grouping of topic narratives that were considered deviant enough to make the news in the examined Spanish press related mainly to financial reforms of the Eurozone (Table 3, Topic 2.1). Reforms, which the EU required of Spain or other indebted Eurozone countries, were narrated as having painful consequences for the Spanish and other similar national groupings. But, in many cases said reforms were presented as necessary for the improvement of Spain's long-term financial situation, or for the situation of other 'similar' countries such as Greece or Cyprus. Within this, there seemed to be a strong discourse which posed that Spain, as a nation, should take responsibility for previous unsustainable spending, which had been made worse by allowing too much leeway to the country's "scandalously indebted" autonomous communities (La Razón, 20 Mar).

Unsurprisingly, when EU reforms were self-evidently seen not to have the 'desired' effect, articles related to the EU more negatively. The above could be interpreted as evidence of an interest-based discourse being taken up as relevant in news. However, more attention was focused on consolidation of Spanish governance and identity. Little attention was given to a more rational cost-benefit analysis, as I argue would be needed if interests were the key factor in influencing identity construction.

More generally, the second topical sub-narrative problematized whether EU policies successfully create growth (Table 3, Topic 2.2). Articles here took issue with various EU reforms meant to promote Spanish economic growth, or to help solve structural problems such as unemployment in the Spanish economy ('*What*'). What has been defined as the EU discourse of solidarity in common net-benefit was counted as a relevant part of conflict in popular Spanish news. Yet, it was merely presented as a justification for policies that were purported to work to Spanish advantage specifically, with little evidence of supranational affection becoming

accorded as a result. Conversely, economic policies "imposed" by Germany, that were perceived as un-advantageous to Spain were viewed skeptically with little regard for the German side of the story, suggesting a lack of affective solidarity or mutual-recognition between Member State identities (Bartolini, 2005; La Razón, 27 May; Vollaard, 2014). Therefore, news stories were selected as deviant for their standing to affect the identity-based perceived interests of the readership by causing change. Perceived interest remained based in purely national conceptions of accordance of solidarity. The transactional EU discourse continued to clash with national identity.

Still, it may be possible to take the above two sub-topics as evidence of partial support of EU integration, based on common net-benefit in the single market. However, it becomes apparent that this is not the case: The third sub-topic flagged instances in which the EU was portrayed as self-evidently deviant for not understanding the character of life in Spain (Table 3, Topic 2.3). The EU discourse and justifications were mentioned. But, they were considered self-evidently non-credible, as being on the threatening deviance-causing side of the conflict in practically all cases as well. This indicates conflict flowed from conceptions held by the pre-existing biases of the readership, rather than an analysis of costs and benefits as a side of the story (See Chapters 3 & 5). These stories took issue with the fact that Spain was expected to apply EU regulations, which were perceived to adversely affect the country or a unit within it; little investigation was given into costs or benefits. Many stories referred to the EU attempting to forbid practices from the 'outside', the halting of which would make it more difficult for Spain, or one of its regions, to cope with the economic crisis because of "Technocrats" self-evidently demonstrating "difficulty understanding...Spanish reality" (La Razón, 12 Mar). Others were critical of what was portrayed as unwise, pro-austerity regulation. Thus, as in Poland and UK,

the EU stood as illegitimately causing problems that should be resolved by a Europe of nation states; unpopular policy from Brussels was news in this press discourse.

Events related to integration as promoting standards of national unity

The specific topics addressed in topic narrative 3.1 (Table 3) related to the EU forcing the improvement of national standards or regulations. Said regulation caused relevant changes in the environment of the readership. The content of these articles was sufficiently deviant to make the news ('*What*'), but only in the sense of the regulation causing salient change. In comparison to the other two case study countries, this is interesting: As we have seen, in both Poland and UK, most stories in the examined press, related to EU policy standards, regarded the activity of the EU in national policy as threateningly deviant and even cause for moral panic as the proper resolution stance. However, especially when viewed in context of Spanish topic narrative 2.3, this could be considered a more rationalist cost-benefit accounting in cross-topic issue narratives. As such, it would constitute the EU's interest-based discourse being borne out in popular press discourse.

Instead, more in keeping with the argument advanced by this thesis, integration was only presented in terms of the self-evident normative goodness of helping to solidify a unified Spanish nation. Some articles referred to the EU's improvement of standards directed to Spain as a whole. Yet, a good number of them referred to EU regulation as forcing the improvement of governance in one of Spain's regions, which were portrayed as automatically delinquent for not being wholly integrated with the central government. Conversely, in those articles that referred to the EU's regulation of other countries' policies, this seemed viewed in a similar manner to the ordinarily conflictual relationship between the Spanish government and its autonomous communities

(Ulldmolins and Zamorano, 2014). Thus, an interesting facet of Spanish identity in its nationalist press is revealed vis a vis the other two case study countries: While in UK and Poland news topics were presented in a national 'us' versus non-national 'them' manner, what constitutes the 'nation' in Spain may be somewhat fraught with contesting positions of its regions in press discourse. As the next sub-narrative more clearly shows, Spanish popular news often held exclusive regionalist ambitions as threateningly deviant to a cohesive Spanish identity. EU integration was presented as a possible solution to this.

The second sub-narrative (Table 3, Topic 3.2) addressed the promotion of unity in national standards category. It often lauded the EU institutions for standing against the secessionist ambition of sub-state groupings in Spain and more generally in the Union. In keeping with the Spanish national tenor of the analyzed papers, EU pronouncements regarding the problematic nature of would-be secessionist states remaining in the EU or the Eurozone were viewed as a newsworthy crisis ('*What*'). Obviously, most of these stories addressed questions of Basque or Catalan sovereignty. The EU's positions on Scotland's independence referendum were also considered as worthy of attentiveness in the examined news. In a majority of cases, the EU was positioned as offering a solution to the deviance created by secessionist ambitions, by reinforcing the image of Spain as a cohesive nation. Instead of representing an interest-based accounting of European identity through integration, this topic narrative continues to represent the primacy of national identity conceptions as reflected in popular, national-level reportage. Secession is not in the interest of Spain as a unified national group. Integration on the supranational level thus may be portrayed as less deviant due to its resemblance to the conflictual discourses regarding nationalism and Spanish identity (de Zuniga, 2012).

Related to the positive portrayal of the normalization of Spain as having a cohesive identity, the final aspect of the 'national unity' topic narrative addressed instances in which EU regulation was seen to be negatively affecting Spain or one of its regions ('*What*'). In a majority of them, the EU discourse of solidarity in a single market created through the provision of reasonable net-benefit in the single market was relevant. Or it was regarded negatively. On the surface this may seem to be a largely interest-based argument. As discussed above, the intervening role of Spanish national identity belies this. In the first two sub-topics of the 'national unity' narrative, the Spanish regions' disparate identities and ambitions were viewed as threatening. In narrative 3.3, when an EU policy appeared to worsen or not sufficiently benefit one of those regions, to the extent that they "consider the conditions [of them] unacceptable", solidarity seemed to be accorded to them as members of the Spanish 'in-group' (20 Minutos, 8 Oct). Similar to the Polish case, instances in which free movement was addressed in this narrative, it was written of as an unfortunate necessity, due to EU policy that exacerbated the financial crisis in Spain, or in terms of student vacations. Yet, as with the British case, a minority of cases addressed consequences for the country as a whole regarding the threat of Roma immigration in context of the end to the EU-2's adjustment period. The manner in which the narrative role of the autonomous communities changes, depending on the crisis-causing event within this topic, does not belie that an interest-based rationale is at play. What is important, in how this discourse views Spanish national identity, is that the resultant perception of interests does not appear to include the accordance of solidarity ties to members beyond the national 'in-group,' in contravention of transactionalist integration rationales.

Events related to free movement and funding as (not) providing net-benefit

The fourth Spanish narrative was the only one that discussed the right of free movement of persons as its main crisis-causing topic (Table 3, Topic 4). It was relatively small, comprising only 14 articles. Further, this narrative did give acknowledgement to the fact that free movement gave Spaniards opportunities that they otherwise would not have. Paradoxically, it also narrated EU integration in only a slightly positive manner.

In those instances when EU discourse was related to the crisis-juncture, EU austerity-oriented actions regarding Spain's economic situation were '*What*' was considered to "have a painful aspect", rather than emigration in and of itself (20 Minutos, 2 Jun). Mainly, these articles related to emigration to Germany and northern Europe. Within this, stories related to harmonization of standards regarding recognition of credentials were viewed positively. Thus, like in the migrant sending state, free movement proved somewhat anemic to fostering positive identification with Europe when viewed in relation to other perceived consequences of integration for the nation state. This runs counter to the EU discourse, which finds its basis in theoretical rationales that argue for affection to the single market through the perception of common net-benefit in mobility. At the same time, EU migration was viewed in a less stridently negative manner than in the popular press discourses of the other two examined states, perhaps, again, because the regionalized nature of Spanish identity makes it more open to outside influences in the first instance due to its 'nested' nature in other identity levels below the nation-state. Thus, movement beyond Spain tended to be perceived as ordinarily conflictual in terms of interest, within the identity conception reflected in the examined news discourse (Medrano and Gutierrez, 2001).

The final Spanish topic narrative regarded EU funding. These stories did merit attentiveness in terms of newsworthiness (Table 3, Topic 5). As in Poland, some articles did problematize the amount of funding given to Spain as automatically illegitimate in terms of reductions. This does not constitute a discourse that accords solidarity ties beyond the national level. However, the negative valence of this narrative was moderated by the contestability of Spanish identity, through a recurring conceit regarding funding that "their application in Spain 'will not be easy'" once the time came for Madrid to apportion that funding out to Spain's competing communities (20 Minutos, 17 Apr). Thus, wins and losses in terms of funding below the national level remained newsworthy; similar uncertainties on the supranational level became relatively more normalized.

However, another main topic was addressed within this narrative: bailout funding in terms of the Eurozone crisis. In many cases here, EU responses were seen as positive and fair, if insufficient. Additionally, the Spanish press remained concerned with debt crisis in other southern EU countries. But, national demarcation was suggested as the correct resolution position, in order for Spain to avoid a situation in which the country might have to submit to more aggressive austerity policies, such as those imposed on Cyprus or Greece. Finally, more developed member states -- especially Germany -- were portrayed as self-evidently deviant for not being more generous with funding in terms of stimulating the Spanish economy, rather than reflecting supranational solidarity accordance in terms of recognition of fairness to all parties or commonality of interests (Otto and Kohler, 2016).

Taken together, the popular press in all three case study countries problematized similar broad topics related to supranational regulation, emigration/immigration and EU funding in

terms of '*What*' topics were produced as news. However, the valenced manner in which those topical narratives were portrayed begins to reveal some interesting points. Largely they provide support for the argument made in the theoretical chapter of this dissertation regarding how resilient national identity conceptions in each country shape interest perceptions with regard to free movement. In Poland, the migrant sending state, free movement was viewed as an anemic positive when compared to other perceived obligations of membership for Poland, specifically. In Britain it remained one especially problematic part of a larger process of integration, which was portrayed in terms of 'Brussels' seeking to bring Britain 'down' to the level of continental Europe. In Spain, free movement was addressed relatively less often as a main news-causing topic (despite having the largest corpus of articles overall). Indeed, as other studies confirm, relating to what aspect of integration Spaniards problematize, more attention was paid to the interplay of Union membership with Spain's disparate regions in terms of the creation of a common Spanish identity; interests were perceived through the self-evident goodness of a national identity (Atikcan, 2015; Closa and Maatsch, 2014). The identity conceptions of each state appear to color perceptions of free movement in light of a given state's relationship to the single market for persons, in terms of '*What*' was reported. Yet, the contestability of affective identity with the nation-state based unit seems to make the Spanish identity, as reflected in the examined press, more permeable to supranational discourse of common net-benefit in the single market, when problematized as news in some cases.

Looking at what topics made the news with relation to EU integration provides relevant context regarding topics related to free movement of persons that intersect with others connected to integration. At the same time, it confirms little about the justifications for '*Why*' perceptions of free movement were set forth as positively or negatively deviant in terms of causing crisis in

reportage. In what follows, I seek to go deeper by explaining what content-oriented aspects of the examined news explained 'Why' free movement specifically was negatively or positively relevant in terms of it constituting a relevant moral crisis, in order to eviscerate more clearly the relationship between identity conception and interest perception advanced by this thesis.

Lamenting the threat of emigration: 'Why' free movement made the news in Poland

In the migrant sending country, cases in which the right of free movement of persons was not negatively related to crisis in terms of 'Why' also constituted news (see Table 4).

Table 4: The crisis narrative stage for Polish popular press

Crisis		
What		Why
62	45	28
100%	73%	45.10%

However, this does not mean that it stood to present that right as a prime reason for supporting membership. Again, the 'Why' storytelling component relates to the reason for which a reported crisis event ('What') was justified as news (Scheufele, 1999). In keeping with the argument of this thesis, events seem to have been selected for reportage, within the analyzed press discourse, for their tendency to deviate self-evidently from internal biases of national identity conception (Donsbach, 2004). In the analyzed Polish press discourse, the free movement of persons -- often portrayed as emigration -- was put forth as a type of 'consolation prize'. It was Poland's continued underdevelopment vis a vis the Western EU which justified reported events as constituting relevant news. Within this, free movement was mainly viewed as occurring due to a crisis-

causing lack of opportunities within the nation-state ('Why'). In other words, making use of free movement itself was not 'Why' an event caused a crisis. Rather, crisis-oriented events were justified as relevant due to unfounded negative attitudes in the West toward Poles. The ability of Western powers to 'wrongfully' exert control over Polish citizens abroad was also problematized deviantly. Thus, 'Why' events were justified as deviant, as conceptions of normalcy clashed with identity-based interest perceptions. In furtherance of this dissertation's argument regarding the innate mode of media reporting to foment moral panic, integration was self-evidently painted as a problematic crisis. The right to move freely within the Union itself was not perceived as a boon; this runs counter to academic arguments, which call for identification with 'Europe' through the creation of common benefit in movement (see Chapter 3). Instead, what justified events as deviant crises was the perceived status of Poland as continually less developed, such that its citizens were required to submit to the control of powerful western Members. The EU discourse of solidarity creation through common net-benefit in mobility is thus not reflected. This was true even when free movement related neutrally to integration in the relevant discourse. This narrative framing does not suggest an interest-based, Europeanized debate regarding integration. The press outlets selected for this study most likely would not reflect a debate of this character (Kuneilus and Sparks, 2001). However, as we will see below, the character of issues that they do construct in their reportage begins to support an identity-based accounting of resistance to EU integration.

'Why' free movement was deviant as emigration: Portrayal of the national condition

In instances in which free movement of persons was justified neutrally or positively in terms of 'Why' an event caused deviance, EU membership was reported on only implicitly as

redirecting migratory flows, rather than altering the threatening reasons behind them. As such, it was not considered a great boon to 'the nation' in this press narrative. Instead, it was merely an enabling factor or a convenience (Textbox 1):

Textbox 1: Free movement as mere convenience for national in-group

EU membership only redirects popular destinations for 'vacation jobs':

'It's a big change in comparison with 2002, when over 20 thousand Polish students went to the US. Everything changed after our entry into the European Union. For work on vacation it's possible to go to Europe more simply, easily and under one's own power' (Metro, 25 Mar. Expert).

EU membership allows for quicker access to healthcare abroad; threatens national institutions:

The Ministry of Health is afraid that the EU regulations will ruin the NFZ's coffers... The opening of practices of foreign specialists is, for Poles, great news, because in Poland availability of specialists, in comparison with Europe, is fatal (Metro, 19 Feb).

Above, the EU is not portrayed as positively relevant to the crisis in terms of an interest-based discourse surrounding benefits in free movement. The change-causing possible signal crime, as related to free movement, constitutes news only as it is seen to merely change flows of bilateral migration (Innes, 2004). Or, said right is seen not to address the underlying negative justification for 'Why' a crisis-event was reported: The socio-economic situation in the country. Thus, in cases such as these, free movement is linked to crisis in terms of 'Why' something was deviant. Instead of solidarity in a single market, based on common interest, or interaction with other Europeans, national identity conceptions regard free movement as imperfect – and also related to the negative crisis about Poland's national economic situation. Due to national identity conceptions, free movement is not countenanced as a relevant, reasonable benefit that Poles would not have if it were not for the EU.

In other instances, crisis events related more directly to emigration from Poland that was made possible by free movement. Instead of weighing this right as an EU-provided opportunity, departures from Poland were addressed in an exclusively bilateral sense. Emigration, if not EU integration, is justified as constituting news for the threatening picture it is seen to paint of the Polish economy ('Why') (Textbox 2):

Textbox 2: Bi-lateral emigration threatening because of economic situation

Emigration crisis-worthy due to economic situation; competition is deviant:

Year 2012: Every tenth Pole wanted to leave for work abroad. Year 2013: Every third Pole would want to emigrate for work. 'The competition is "toughening". It will be more difficult than a year ago to get a vacation job in Spain, Portugal or Greece' warns Artur Ragan of the temporary job agency Work Express. Job offers from abroad are interesting also to more Poles (Our unemployment already exceeds 14%, so for example, for one job offer of physical work in Germany at net 4 thousand zł per month, there are up to 300 applicants.) (Metro 25 Apr).

Emigration as a necessity caused by lack of opportunity in Poland:

The figures say it all: Just in the past year 100,000 Poles departed abroad. They join their two million countrymen, who already earlier chose emigration. Over the next five years, that could go up another 500 to 800 thousand...Finding a job [in Poland] takes on average eight months. Only he, however, who is able to permit it, could go for a half a year or a year without earning anything. (Fakt, 23 Feb).

Note that EU rights of free movement are not mentioned, in this press discourse, as facilitating the emigration. Thus, this does not constitute an interest-based selection of 'Why' certain events were selected to be produced as news in these press outlets. Further, the transactionalist EU discourse argues for the creation of mutual solidarity in the single market. However, articles imply that competition in that space with other EU nationalities stand to worsen the prospects of Poles who choose emigration. In contravention to interest-based theories of EU identity formation, competing in the single market is not viewed as providing reasonable benefit to

members of the national 'in-group', despite the existence of trans-border movement. Emigration is justified as a crisis-causing symptom of an ongoing national crisis related to the socio-economic situation in Poland.

Free movement as menial employment: Emigration as a crisis of exploitation

As mentioned above, many articles in the Polish popular press portrayed emigration, facilitated by free movement, to be worthy of making the news due to a plausible contention that it occurs only out of necessity, in light of Poland's economic situation, which -- incorrectly -- is seen not to have improved since EU membership. This narrative strand portrayed an increased willingness of Poles to migrate to undesirable, lower-skilled, or menial jobs in the West as causing crisis by implying that in fact Poland's economic situation had, in fact, worsened such, that Poles were forced to submit to 'un-equal' Western treatment (Textbox 3):

Textbox 3: Free movement as unfortunate necessity that only provides for menial employment

Emigration as resulting from necessity, not willingness to take advantage of a right:

The results show, that in the period of the last quarter, readiness for departure for work abroad grew... 'What's alarming is that for close to every third respondent this decision was based on necessity related with structural changes in their last firm... Because the best changes are those that result from willingness to search for better terms of employment and not from coercion,' [one of the researchers is quoted as saying] (Metro, 3 Nov).

Poles who must leave relegated to menial tasks:

Almost 40% of young Poles declare that they intend to attempt to find work abroad... Departure for work is in their opinion, dictated more by a general lack of work and money than about the ambition of getting to know the world. That's why they would decide on it only out of necessity. 'In the majority it's [more about] necessity than development. If someone goes abroad to work, he or she more likely works physically. And that's no kind of development for anyone,' said one of the respondents (Metro, 21 Feb.)

The EU fails to alleviate ongoing crisis, relegating in-group to 'un-equal' employment prospects:

Great Britain is still the one of the lead countries to which we leave for work. Poles are arriving in Scandinavia and leaving Spain. The jobs in which they most want to employ us remain unchanged -- in construction and for taking care of old people...The specific nature of countries of the old EU is the amount of need for traditional trade professions (Metro 3 Nov).

As I have argued would be needed for a more interest-oriented debate to be extant, little actual economic data is brought to bear, regarding the country's economic situation. Thus, events related to emigration were justified as newsworthy in a threateningly deviant manner from national identity-based interest. Facilitation of such movement is necessarily allowed by the EU's free movement principles. However it is not perceived in popular press discourse of the migrant sending state to be an opportunity or relevant benefit of membership, due to a suggestion that emigration facilitates exploitation; Western EU Members and employers "treat the Polish job market as a reservoir of cheap labor for Europe" (Metro 11 Jun).

It may have been possible for the EU discourse of common net-benefit to get out in popular press issue narratives related to emigration, if professional opportunities for employment abroad were mentioned as a part of that narrative. Yet, this type of emigration was instead linked to the country's socio-economic state, as portrayed in popular news. For instance, in what follows: "British people are crowding clinics run by Polish doctors. They praise them for the low prices and quick availability of specialists. Or, that which Poland lacks" (Metro, 17 Jun).

This divide is perhaps unsurprising, considering that it occurs in non-elite press discourse. However, this narrative framing shows how free movement, as related to the reporting of crisis events, takes on a threatening character. What may have positive aspects in terms of interest and opportunity are embroiled into identity-based narratives, which prevent the creation of a discourse in which the costs and benefits of integration could be more directly addressed. As

argued for in this thesis, events related to free movement of persons are justified as newsworthy based on their tendency to deviate from identity-based conceptions of normalcy. These perceptions prevent benefit from being perceived from integration, and thus clash with the EU-level discourse. This contradicts related theories of affective European identity formation through common interests. Identity prevents the perception of benefit -- common or otherwise -- in terms of 'Why' events related to free movement were justified as news in the analyzed Polish press discourse.

Crisis as caused by 'un-equal' treatment of the national in-group

Articles that did not relate to the nature of emigrant work or the socio-economic situation in Poland, dealt with uncertainty-creating crises, in terms of 'Why' an event was considered newsworthy. Representatively, many of these articles related to British Euroskeptic positions regarding Polish emigrants and related disintegrative actions. Of course, it is clear that British attempts to curtail benefits to Poles who have migrated to the UK are not in the Polish national interest. However, the EU or its discourse was not regarded as causing deviant change through attempting to provide for fair equal treatment and common net-benefit in light of the disintegrative or discriminatory actions taken on the part of western Member States. Instead, as we will see in the following chapter, disintegrative actions are taken only against an equally threatening backdrop of integration (Textbox 4):

Textbox 4: Free movement as uncertain due to 'unfounded' Western actions

Crisis caused by unfounded negative opinion of Poles in the West/UK:

Poles are the largest group of immigrants from the EU on the Islands -- around 580 thousand in England and Wales. There are only more British and Hindus. So far, it's our countrymen who

have also been touched on most strongly by the anti-immigration campaign of the British tabloids.

The Sunday Telegraph, The Sun or The Daily Mail have long shown that immigrants drain the budget and take work away from the British. The media don't call attention to the official reports on this subject. The University College of London calculated that thanks to immigrants, British business gained 22 milliard Pounds in the last decade. Foreigners pay in the form of taxes around 34 percent more than the government spends on them: for example welfare, medical care, education. By comparison, the British pay about 11 percent less than they receive, and therefore make use of social care more often (Metro, 27 Nov.)

Resultant disintegrative measures portray exercising free movement rights as risky:

These changes [benefit curtailing measures in UK] will hit Poles hard. That's because they enjoy high benefits for children, and therefore are willing to have them and unfortunately they also often - especially in times of crisis - lose their job and land on the street.... (Fakt, 29 Nov).

Thus, the crisis stage of the narrative began to take on an identity-based 'us' versus 'them' characteristic even before the sides of the story became defined in terms of conflict. With reference to the identity-based roots of solidarity tie accordance, it is interesting to note that, as in the above quote, that the British tabloids' ostensibly unfounded conceptions of Polish emigrants would be considered as newsworthy crisis in a number of articles ('Why'). As such, it could be argued that this presents evidence for the existence of an incipient European public sphere (Kanter, 2015). However, instead of an integrated non-elite discourse regarding migration in the EU, the opinions of those papers are merely seen to cause crisis, for portraying members of the national in-group in a non-positive light. The academic interest-based arguments of supranational common interest in interaction, on which the EU discourse is based, are not justified as a relevant crisis-event. Thus, national identity conceptions clash with interest-based rationales of affection to the single market, as reflected in the examined popular reportage, with regard to 'Why' events related to the disintegrative actions of Member States were newsworthy. This caused movement within the Union to begin to take on a threatening character, not only in

terms of the employment prospects that it offers, but also through the ostensibly 'unfair' treatment that a Pole moving abroad may be subjected to.

In the Polish popular press, articles that related to the free movement of persons justified their events in terms of 'Why' they were newsworthy in a manner that did not reflect the transactionalist EU discourse. Instead, migration was narrated as something that occurred bilaterally within Europe as unfortunate emigration. It was not explicitly facilitated by the EU. Events reported as news in this press discourse justified emigration as having an exploitative character, and being uncertain among the unfounded beliefs and actions of Western member states; especially the UK. As such, any possible common-benefit could not be perceived from integration of the single market for persons. Possible opportunities provided by the free movement of persons were subsumed into ongoing issue narratives regarding the economic situation in the country. As other research has suggested, this may represent an identity-based tendency of Poles to regard themselves as victims of Western or foreign designs (Burrell, 2009; Galbraith, 2014). Indeed, according to the framework for the selection of events to be produced as news advanced by this thesis, one should not necessarily expect the tabloid press to report events related to EU integration as separate crisis events (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007; Schuck and De Vreese, 2006). However, the fact that they instead regard EU migration in the manner that they do begins to evidence support for the argument that national identity influences the perception of interest. As the issue narratives created by the reportage of the above types of crisis events become entrenched over the rest of the CCR format, this could serve to encourage moral panic over EU integration.

Disgust over 'threatening' EU migrants: 'Why' free movement made the news in UK

Within the British case, a crisis-event related to the free movement of persons was justified as making the news in a positive or neutral manner in the least amount of instances of the three case study countries ('*Why*') (Table 5):

Table 5: The crisis narrative stage for UK popular press

Crisis	
What	Why
106	86
96	
100%	81.10%
90.60%	

Often, positive changes for the national in-group, caused by integration, touched on the free movement of persons; they were portrayed as 'happy accidents' where the EU worked to further perceived interests of Britain specifically. In other cases, crisis-events were related to audiences as negatively deviant exclusively within the national context, even though they were factually related to the free movement of persons. Within this, anti-EU national forces stood as causing crisis by resolving a more long-term, issue-conflict within the nation-state. As stated above, these cases occurred in the minority of examined press narrative in Britain. The '*Why*' related non-negatively to crisis in only slightly less than 20% of the cases. Of course, it is to be expected that that the examined popular media would report events of this nature with a national angle. However, as I argue, this runs counter to the interest-based theories of creation of affection to Europe and the creation of a European public sphere. European issues remain discussed in exclusively national terms according to interest constructed by national identity.

Further, all of the British topic narratives were negatively valenced with regard to integration ('*What*'). This allowed the construction of issue narratives that touched on the right of free movement of persons to evolve largely as a series of reported events related to EU migrants as the 'other', benefits tourism and migrant crime (Table 2, Topics 5.1, 5.3 & 6). As we will see, instead of representing an attempt at investigation as to whether a deviant crisis event was justified as news in terms of interests, articles portrayed crisis-events as self-evidently threatening, for their origination beyond the nation-state. The EU discourse was either not present, or it was presented as a threatening crisis event in itself. Thus, in the British popular press discourse, national identity conceptions clashed with the supranational discourse in terms of '*Why*' news related to the free movement of persons was deviant. The national in-group was seen to be placed under threat by self-evidently deviant events from its outside. Thus, as argued by this thesis, as these issue narratives moved forward, justifications of EU migration as causing crisis could stand to be built into suggestions of moral panic most clearly in the British case.

Happy accidents & national crises: 'Why' articles related un-negatively to free movement

In articles in which the EU facilitated the removal of barriers to ease the of freedom of movement of persons, it rarely made the news as a positive change-causing crisis for Britons; such events were couched in terms of convenience for that national group. However, in most cases where 'non-negative' events related to EU integration, what constituted the negative crisis-event was not justified in terms of newsworthiness as being explicitly related to the EU ('*Why*'). Therefore the EU discourse of solidarity creation through the integration of the single market was not counted as relevant to causation of the crisis-event (Textbox 5):

Textbox 5: EU discourse not justified as part of newsworthy crisis

Integration justified as relevant for causation of positive change for national in-group:

The EU has been pushing down prices by enforcing a cap on the charges that providers can charge. It is good news for holidaymakers visiting Croatia, which joins the EU today, as it is now included in the list of countries where EU roaming caps apply (Daily Mail, 1 Jul).

EU free movement relevant to crisis-event, but not reported; integration negative in larger issue:

A MASSIVE 12 million has been lost in translation over the past five years — in **court** service payments to interpreters. The multi-linguists are needed to translate for non-English speakers who appear in **court**...The top five languages interpreted from 2010 to 2012 were Polish, Lithuanian, Romanian, Russian and Mandarin Chinese (The Sun, 10 Jun).

National resolution of ongoing issue-conflict; does not mention EU free movement:

Health Secretary Jeremy Hunt will also charge migrants to visit a GP to curb the impact of benefit tourists. Latest figures show that for every £100 the NHS spent on caring for health tourists last year, only £23 has been paid back. (Daily Mail, 2 Jul).

In some of these cases, deviation from normalcy was caused by the EU in terms of convenience for British. Yet, as I argued in Chapter 3, the EU discourse would view integrative actions of this nature as evidence of the provision of common benefit to Europeans. Yet, in instances in which consequences of integration caused crisis positively for Britons, this did not lead to consequent calls for affection in the popular press. On one hand this may be unsurprising. However, theoretical rationales that call for affection to the single market through the enablement of trans-border interaction and benefit, imply normatively that this *should* be the case if an EU public sphere becomes apparent (Rosamond, 2012; Van De Steeg, 2010). Indeed, it is not.

Further, the above crisis-events were justified as causing negative deviance in a self-evidently plausible manner. Yet, in some instances the EU or its discourse was not justified as negative simply because it or its discourse was not mentioned. However, as we will see, these

cases were the minority in issue-narratives such as benefits tourism and migrant crime. The EU was often justified as being negatively related to an event-crisis or as constituting one itself ('Why'). In either case, the EU's discourse of common net benefits of free movement for all EU citizens was considered completely irrelevant due to national identity conception as present in the English and Welsh popular news discourse.

EU regulations as relevant to allowing migration of threatening 'others'

As alluded to above, in articles in which the 'Why' related negatively to EU free movement, it was often justified as automatically deviant for its disruption of national policy regarding immigration. Migration of non-British EU citizens was automatically threatening in terms of national identity conception in the migrant receiving state. In these cases, stories were explained as relevant news, as EU regulation was seen to allow large numbers of threatening EU 'others' to come to the UK. They did not focus on concretely justified outcomes of such policy. As I have argued, this would need to be the case if transactionalist integration theories were to be borne out. Thus, crisis in the first instance was constructed as having a British 'us' versus European 'them' character of identity-based interest construction. As a conservative MP wrote in a letter to the editor:

People no longer believe we have the grit, determination and political will to deal with the problems of immigration and Europe. They feel their country is careering down a slippery slope towards membership of a giant federal Europe – a new nation super-state that they did not agree to join. They see British legislation replaced by new EU laws, and all they hear is: 'It's an EU regulation – we can't do anything about it.' Now, if we want to control our borders, we need prior permission from unelected European commissioners (Daily Mail, 4 May).

The identity-related issue of free movement is thus contextualized in popular press discourse as related to the deviant topic of having to accept supranational policy beyond the nation state.

These EU regulations are justified as relevant to produce as a news item simply because they

allow members of the non-national group equal access to the national space ('Why'). As such, this narrative framing provides support for the identity-based model of resistance to EU integration advanced by this thesis. EU regulations that regard free movement are seen as plausibly threatening due to their non-national status, instead of concrete consequences. The EU discourse clashes with national identity conception as the latter prevents any possible net-benefits from being perceived.

Crisis-events justified as threatening for their evidence of benefits tourism

In terms of 'Why' events related to free movement were news, many articles related to the tendency of EU regulations to allow for benefits tourism. As we will see, this issue-narrative makes use of identity-based fears. It implies as plausible, an unsubstantiated -- and incorrect -- claim that EU migrants could instantly claim benefits upon arrival in the UK (Textbox 6):

Textbox 6: EU Regulations put forth as relevant for allowing benefits tourism

EU 'rules' threatening because they allow for benefits tourism:

The taxpayer will be appalled to discover that, if the UK loses the case, jobless migrants who have never contributed a penny to the Exchequer will be free to travel here and instantly pocket millions in State handouts. But even more galling is the arrogance of an EU elite which, in yet another sovereignty-sapping power grab, is trying to seize control not only of Britain's borders, but also our welfare state (Daily Mail, 30 May).

Benefits tourism a threateningly significant aspect of EU migration:

MORE than 600,000 non-working EU migrants are now living in Britain — costing the NHS an estimated £1.5billion a year, a report says. The number has soared by 42 per cent since 2006 and the burden on public services will be laid bare in a European Commission study released today. It shows there were 611,779 "non-active" EU migrants — which includes the unemployed, children over 15, students and pensioners — living in Britain last year (The Sun, 14 Oct).

Allowing benefits tourism in Britain portrayed as EU integrative rationale:

It's a perfect storm — immigration, thought far too high by most; welfare, which even Labour voters want restricted; and Brussels trying to dump work-shy migrants on the British taxpayer. Euro chiefs say IDS's requirement that nobody could claim benefits — even with a right to reside — unless they were actually looking for work is "unfair". In other words, we have to pay benefits to any layabout from Rome, Paris or Bucharest — even if they choose to live off the taxpayer permanently, never seeking work (The Sun 2 Jun).

In the above, it is salient to note that Brussels' regulation is stood as being plausibly relevant ('Why') to the causation of crisis, simply for it being non-British in nature. At the same time, the foreign nature of Union rules causes little attention to be paid to the transactionalist EU discourse or the significance of the consequences of EU regulations. The phenomenon of benefits tourism is instead relevant news as it is seen to pose a relevant threat to the national in-group, based on the pre-existing identity biases of the journalists and their audiences (Entman, Matthes and Pillicano, 2009). The lens of national identity caused free movement to automatically be viewed as a negative threat and thereby not in the perceived national interest. However, the EU's discourse of fair net-benefits in integration is not taken up. Thus, as I argue, national identity conceptions again clash with EU discourse in contravention of transactionalist rationales for supranational affection through perception of common interest.

EU free movement justified as causing representative instances of migrant crime

The EU was positioned as a facilitating accessory to deviant, crisis-causing criminal acts. Within this, articles focused on the threatening delinquency of EU migrants already in the UK. In other instances, they concerned the extra-legal plans of EU immigrants who were planning to come to the Britain. Instead of reflecting an incipient solidarity between nationalities, based on common interests in migration, the implied representativeness of instances of crime stands to

further distance CEE citizens from the implied impeccability of the British as a national group
(Textbox 7):

Textbox 7: EU integration of single market portrayed as relevant for facilitating migrant crime

Crime by EU migrants justified as threateningly deviant through un-evidenced significance:

NEARLY 28,000 Romanians were arrested for crimes including murders, rapes and violent attacks in London alone over the last five years, shock figures reveal.... Nearly 35,000 Poles have been arrested in that period too" (The Sun, 28 Feb).

EU regulations allow for entry of criminals into UK; places in-group under uniform threat:

THE first coachload of Romanian migrants left for the UK yesterday — with some boasting of plans to beg and steal from "generous" Brits. Passengers waved their 75 euro tickets and chanted "Anglia, Anglia" as they set off on a three day 1,400-mile trip across mainland Europe. Among those eager to cross our new open borders were a convicted thief and his "apprentice" son — plus others who claimed they were bent on stealing scrap metal and raking in benefits (The Sun, 31 Dec).

Of course, it may be unsurprising that the press outlets examined here would seek to portray the national in-group in a positive light. However, the fact remains that the focus is kept only on the threat to that in-group ('Why'). Therefore, no interest-based discussion can result in this press discourse, in terms of the representativeness of migrant crime or wider benefits of integration. The selection of these events to be reported as signal-crime like threats thus finds itself rooted not in national interests but instead flows from the selection and justification of events as relevant to the audience in terms of their national identity conceptions (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). Thus, this provides support for the argument that national identity perceptions influence the selection of events to be reported as news in terms of 'Why' they are relevant. This again prevents the EU's discourse of common fair net-benefit from being taken as a crisis issue. It instead is seen to be a contributing factor to the threatening crisis narratives

regarding immigration. From the above, this interaction between identity-based interest perceptions and news report selection appears to prevent academic rationales for European solidarity creation through realization of interests in movement from being borne out.

The vast majority of articles that related negatively to crisis for 'Why' they constituted newsworthiness related to identity-influenced supposed consequences of immigration for the nation-state in the British case. However, free movement is a right accorded to all EU citizens. As a codicil, it is worthy to note here that a smaller number of reports related to Britons who had chosen to make use of the right to reside freely in another EU member state. Like in Poland, these instances caused crisis by portraying doing so as risky and uncertain, exclusively for members of the national in-group. Free movement was not explicitly mentioned as providing this opportunity. Thus, any possible benefits cannot be perceived, such that they might lead to affection with the level of the single market. While over a million Britons do reside in other EU Member States, in the British popular press EU integration was seen to cause only negative consequences for them due to different aspects of supranational regulation:

More than four million Brits live in these [debt saddled] and other EU countries. Many who swapped their life savings for sun on their backs are now heading home and selling at a loss. The Cyprus crisis is alarming those in power who hoped the worst was over after five years of belt tightening austerity. Instead arrogant Brussels has sparked panic by confiscating cash from ordinary savers, leaving citizens across the EU to ask themselves urgent questions: Who will be next? Is my bank safe? Is my pension safe? Where do I put my money? And could it happen here, in Britain? The answer is yes (The Sun, Apr 1).

As such, opportunities of free movement accorded to all EU citizens -- including the British -- as would be promoted by the EU-level discourse are not taken up. Importantly, this provides support for the argument that this is the case due to identity-based filters for the selection of events to be produced as news items.

In both the UK and Poland, evidence from the first narrative stage (crisis) begins to indicate that the primacy of exclusive national identity constructs free movement related issues in the relevant discourse. Overall, it is because identity conceptions influence perceived interests that, as other studies have found, these narratives are valenced negatively in terms of perceived consequences of integration (Lawlor, 2015; Seabrooke and Thomsen, 2016). However, in Poland and Britain, the events that were flagged as deviant mirror each other in the migrant receiving and sending states. What would constitute amelioration of the crisis's cause in one state would be exactly what would serve to exacerbate issue-conflict according to the identity-based interest perceptions of the other. Finally, in both countries, crisis was often caused by a non-national, deviant 'other' that was portrayed as placing a unified, national 'in-group' under threat. As we will see, this was much less the case in Spain; the more 'mixed' positioning of that country to the single market may have a role to play in this. If this is so, it could provide support for the viability of the interest-based rationales for the creation of affection to the single market through common interest. However, that country's composition according to contesting sub-national groups could alternatively provide for identity-based narrative framing of free movement and integration that points it as relatively more normalized when related to newsworthy crisis in the Spanish popular discourse.

Moving beyond the 'threat' of regionalism: 'Why' free movement made the news in Spain

As mentioned above, the Spanish case differentiated itself from popular press discourse in the migrant sending and receiving states. Articles related to the free movement of persons negatively, in terms of 'Why' they constituted a newsworthy crisis, only slightly more than 36% of the time (Table 6):

Table 6: The crisis narrative stage for Spanish popular press

Crisis		
What		Why
58		21
	39.5	
100%		36.20%
	68.10%	

Further, instead of relating neutrally or positively to crisis, many events related to free movement were justified as relevant news items as positively oriented deviance. They stood to cause only salient change instead of threat over which a moral panic could be constructed (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994; Garland 2008). Within this, free movement of persons was not only discussed as more than a mere convenience when regarded positively in terms 'Why' an event made the news. As such, this could stand in favor of the interest-based, transactionalist academic arguments, which the EU's integrative rationale reflects. However, crisis events were also justified as news positively for helping Spain to overcome its own internal regionalist factionalism. Within the worldview constructed in the relevant Spanish press discourse, this was related to a suggestion of the self-evident normative goodness of there being a unified Spanish identity. Regionalism within Spain caused migration of Spaniards to other EU states to be reported on as abnormal but non-threatening. Articles took up the EU discourse, which reflects calls for solidaristic affection to the single market through fair exercise of a common movement right. Yet, taking into account events regarding the Gibraltar border dispute with the UK, or that country's EU referendum, I argue that this narrative framing may have occurred due to the way in which EU was allowed to be seen through the prism of Spanish identity: As a mediating entity which often fomented Spanish unity. Reported events in this press discourse related free movement negatively to crisis

in terms of newsworthiness ('Why'). The process was either portrayed as uncertain in the context of the UK referendum, or as not in perceived Spanish national interest for allowing emigration to be used as an issue by leftist regional groups.

"Why" crisis-events of free movement were relevant in improving Spanish unity

In a number of stories in which free movement was touched upon, the contention that it was seen to help foster a common Spanish identity was newsworthy. On the other hand, sub-national regionalism was viewed as the cause of threatening deviance in Spanish popular press discourse (Textbox 8):

Textbox 8: Interlink between benefits of integration and the 'threat' of regionalism

Free movement justified as a benefit of integration to a singular national in-group:

It's one of the most tangible advantages of what it means to be a member of the EU. Since the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht, the free circulation and residence of nationals from whichever EU country has been consecrated. As such, any Spaniard has the right to enter, reside and remain in any other state, simply by presenting their passport or national ID card (20 Minutos, 12 Jun).

The Single Market relevant as it provides common benefit to European consumers:

The objective of the Single Market is to guarantee that liberalization is beneficial for the largest number of companies, but also that the increase in competition impacts favorably on the 500 million European consumers (La Razón, 1 Jan).

Regionalism as threatening to Spanish unity and modernization:

In the major part of the countries around us, it is understood that who wants to improve their employment options surely has to 'sacrifice' or 'move'... In Spain, by contrast, the average [person] must be within a 40-kilometer radius of the town in question.... by disgrace, mobility is thought of actually only in the context of unhappy emigration, which we are suffering from again. At this time, it is important to recognize that localism can make many men and women happy because as long as one speaks local languages... and celebrates commemorations of anti-unity, one is already happy.... Localism is the real branding that the new 'Spain is different'. (La Razón, 25 May, column).

What is justified as negatively deviant in terms of a Spanish national identity conception is not the necessity of emigration, as in Poland. Above, it is portrayed as being a relevant right accorded to all members of a unified national in-group. Resistance to free movement, as a result of sub-national parochialism is what is taken as a threatening crisis event. Obviously, the EU discourse of solidarity creation through common net-benefits in movement is taken up as positively related to crisis. However, it is subsumed into a debate on the normative nature of Spanish identity itself (Balfour and Quiroga, 2007; Solis, 2003). Thus, this may be the case due to what I have argued are innate processes by which events are selected to be produced as news based off of identity-based interest perceptions. Europeanization is positively related to the crisis because it leads to the fortification of a normatively good Spanish identity. It is possible to perceive benefit from movement as it is seen to enhance the perceived interests of other Spanish identity levels. Thus, the nature of Spanish identity -- presented in this press discourse -- did allow the interest-justified EU rationale to be reported positively as a crisis-causing change. However, I maintain that it was not common interest in integration that led to this. But instead, how free movement was contextualized into historical narratives regarding the nature of Spanish identity, in national popular discourse.

Free movement as an opportunity in light of the financial crisis

Possibly for similar reasons, making use of the right of free movement of persons for reasons of employment was not negatively valenced in most cases in terms of 'Why' a free movement-related event was news. However, unlike in Poland, the financial crisis and Spain's economic situation were the root causes of negative deviance. In terms of what made the news,

the EU regulations were sometimes related in terms of their justification as news for worsening realities in Spain ('Why'). Yet, emigration or free movement was not often connected with this in issue narrative. Instead, the EU discourse was at least partially reflected in terms of 'Why' a crisis event was news. Movement was portrayed as positively related to crisis for opening opportunities to Spaniards. Yet, not explicitly because of EU integration (Textbox 9):

Textbox 9: Emigration justified as news due to its provision of opportunity

Increases in emigration seen to be a logical outcome of the crisis:

The number of Spaniards that emigrated to Germany increased in 2012 by 45%, with respect to the year before according to figures disseminated today by the Federal Department of Statistics... Especially outstanding were the number of arriving citizens from the countries most affected by the crisis, like Spain. (La Razón, 7 May).

Free movement in Europe indirectly put forth as an opportunity:

"65% of Spanish professionals between 18 and 24 years would be disposed to change country for an employment...Concretely 75% of Spanish professionals think that the countries with the most opportunities are found in Europe, especially in Germany, where 48% of those surveyed believe it is the country of opportunities. France (7%) and England (6%) are the other two preferred European countries" (20 Minutos, 11 Aug).

Departures to other 'Europe' are relevant, but as one solution to unemployment:

Fifteen nursing professionals, the majority of them recently graduated women in a situation of unemployment, were incorporated this past week into their new work destination in the city of Kuru (Finland), upon the signing of a contract and the following of an intensive course of Finnish at the College of Nursing in Valencia (La Razón, 27 Sep).

The EU and its discourse are not mentioned as related to the crisis-events in the above. However, as has been mentioned before, there is no reason why the popular press should necessarily report it as relevant in all cases. Still, the issue narrative created by the reportage of such crisis events does perceive benefit from migration that flows from the right of free movement. This is the

case, even if it is considered to be unfortunate, or as "abandoning Spain" at times, in light of the economic situation (20 Minutos, 11 Aug). As such, these findings could stand against the identity-based framework advanced in Chapter 3 of this thesis. However, due to the bi-lateral manner in which this migration is reported on, there remains little to indicate that such rights lead to any deeper affection with the single market. It may still be that the nature of Spanish national identity, reflected in this press discourse, merely views trans-border migration as not justifiable for being produced as a part of news ('Why'). The potential for the discourse/identity clash to exist remains; it merely remains inactivated.

Clash between the EU and Member States: Salient but not threatening

The above explanation becomes increasingly tempting, if viewed in the context of Spain's often contesting regions being mediated by Madrid making the news in these outlets. Those relations were seen as being ordinarily conflictual regarding interactions with the national capital (See Spanish topic narratives 3.2; 5). As a possible result, the EU institutions were often justified as causing relevant crisis. However, this was only as they were seen to reproduce a mediator-like role on the supranational level ('Why'). In these stories, the EU was seen to mediate between contesting Member States. Additionally, its discourse of fair net-benefit provision in a common market was taken up as relevant to the causation of a crisis-event. This could provide further evidence for the primacy of interest in influencing identity conception in this case study country's popular press discourse. This is especially the case because some recognition was given to other states' crisis-causing concerns as legitimate in this issue-narrative, only so long as disintegration did not result (Textbox 10):

Textbox 10: Advent of conflict between EU and Member States not worthy of disintegration

Crisis caused by relevant, legitimate discord between Supranational power and Member State:

[British] Plans [are] aimed at braking the massive entrance of Romanians and Bulgarians that, starting in 2014, will be able to enter the British labor market without restrictions. However, the European Commission has just presented opening measures in relation to the freedom of movement in the EU. (La Razón, 9 May).

New supranational decision in favor of Spain ameliorates issue-conflict between Member States:

The European Commission has recognized this Monday Spain's right to control its border with Gibraltar, a territory that does not belong to the Schengen Zone, but it has reminded that the controls 'must be proportional' (20 Minutos, 5 Aug).

Disintegration is cause of negative deviance:

Far from calming anyone down, the position of the 'Tory' leader [regarding the EU referendum] announces a new era of turbulence and uncertainty for Great Britain and its European partners (La Razón, 29 Jan).

On the other hand, taking into account the nature of Spanish national governance as conflictual in terms of what made the popular news, it may be that common Spanish identity conception did not view these types of event-crisis as self-evidently threatening. That is, as long as they remained confined to the advent of discord between the EU and one or more of its Member States. It is disintegration that is viewed as threateningly deviant in terms of news relevance in this discourse. Also, note above that the EU decision regarding Gibraltar came down in the favor of the national in-group. As will be shown over the coming chapters, in instances in which this was not the case, as issue narrative developed, such actions were perceived as illegitimately negative. This press discourse does not take on the EU integrative rationale regarding common net-benefit in integration -- in which 'wins' and some 'losses' are a necessary part of achieving reasonable common interests.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to highlight ways in which national identity-based interest conceptions begin to clash in popular news narrative, through its construction of crisis issues. Valenced topic narratives regarding '*What*' made the news evidenced that events related to free movement were considered relevant in relation to other aspects of integration by journalists in all three of the case study countries. In both the migrant sending country and receiving country, topics related to free movement were narrated in a problematic manner where a unified national identity was present implicitly in the construction of narrative. Thus, this stands to support the argument made by this dissertation in critique of interest-based theories of European identity formation. However, this was less the case for Spain, where free movement was both less salient as news and more positively related to other aspects of the integration process. However, this is possibly because of how the Spanish national conception of identity constructed the popular national press's view of its own regions. As such, the clash may merely be more evident in news causation in Poland and UK, rather than in Spain within the crisis narrative stage.

Further evidence for this was provided by more in-depth investigation regarding '*Why*' a given specific event was justified as making the news so as to constitute a relevant crisis in terms of national identity conception. In Poland, emigration was mentioned as constituting news for its lamentable continuation and character. In Britain, free movement was justified as news for being morally problematic, such that it was seen to place a national in-group under threat. In either case, the EU-level discourse of common net-benefit in single market integration was most often either not counted as relevant, or it clashed directly with perceived interests accorded by national identity conception such that an event caused a newsworthy crisis. In Spain, however, the EU discourse that calls for solidarity in a common market was often viewed as a positive, change-causing crisis. These findings could be said to argue in favor of the interest-based rationales for

creation of affection to the single market, argued against by the theoretical section of this thesis. Yet, as I will continue to argue, the contested nature of Spanish identity causes popular national press discourse to view supranational interaction with other levels of governance in a more emotively sympathetic manner. Going forward, I will pay greater attention to '*When*' events were contextualized as occurring and '*How*' actions those on both 'sides of the story' were arrayed in a valenced manner, in order to demonstrate the manner in which narrative conflict developed as leading from crisis-causing events.

Six: The Conflict

Introduction

In terms of the crisis, the previous chapter addressed the main topic narratives highlighted to be produced as news (*'What'*). It also addressed *'Why'* stories related to the free movement of persons were flagged as possible signal crimes. As I noted in Chapter 3, some have argued that European identity could be wrought from common interests in integration. However, instead of a more rationalist attempt at in-depth examination of interests, my findings have begun to support my argument that -- especially in the migrant sending and the migrant receiving countries -- resiliently exclusive national identities influence the re-entrenchment of solidarity ties on the level of the nation-state. As a result, events related to the removal of state-based barriers to access were characterized in a self-reinforcing, deviant manner, in terms of *'Why'* a given story justified itself as being relevant. However, in Spain, crisis was relatively more positively related to EU integration. Topics reported on as deviant from normalcy stood to cause salient change rather than pose a negative threat. As I have argued, the EU's discourse more closely reflects interest-based or transactionalist accountings of integration, within the academic debate. Even taking the more variegated nature of Spanish identity into account (see Chapter 4), data from the examined press discourse in the Iberian country could provide evidence for the possibility that the EU discourse of common net-benefit in the single market is taking root. This could partially contravene the more identity-based framework advanced by this thesis.

Yet, as the Crisis-Conflict-Resolution issue narratives move forward, into definition of the conflict, evidence for the interest-based accountings appears to be less apparent. Again, this

stage of the CCR issue-narrative remains mostly concerned with defining which stakeholders' actions are on what valenced side of the temporal issue-narrative (De Vreese, 2005; Miller and Reichert, 2001). This includes the sides of a story taken up as relevant, through the provision of temporal context ('*When*'), as well as actions taken amid that context ('*How*') (Machill, Kohler and Waldhauser, 2007; Scheufele, 2007). Again, the point here is to place issues constructed by reporting in context of the narrative created by popular press discourse regarding the free movement of persons. It is not an attempt to situate the reportage of these movement-related events in a broader political context that the news discourse itself does not mention as being connected to it. Such an endeavor would not be relevant: The objective is to eviscerate the manner in which popular press discourse creates a narrative of 'reality' as occurring between positive and negative conflicting forces, so as to possibly reveal the clash of the EU discourse with identity perceptions. As we will see, the EU discourse of common net-benefit in integration did clash with national identity-based interest perceptions. In more direct support of the argument made by this thesis, the supranational discourse was seen to be either completely irrelevant, un-credible, or misrepresented, in terms of what national identity conceptions presented as the relevant sides of the story, in popular press narrative. This in itself is not unexpected. However, the point here is that, as would indicate the continued primacy of national identity conception, all three examined discourses sought to place the national in-group, non-deliberatively, on the positive side of conflict (Cohen, 2002; Neuman et. al., 1992). However, they did so in very different ways:

The Conflict narrative stage for Poland, Britain and Spain.

Table 1: Poland

Conflict N=62	
When	How
24	32
28	
38.70%	51.60%
45.16%	

Table 2: Britain

Conflict N=106	
When	How
72	64
68	
67.90%	60.40%
64.20%	

Table 3: Spain

Conflict N=58	
When	How
37	21
29	
63.80%	36.20%
50%	

In Poland, the perceived backward economic state of the country often provided context to crisis-junctures of unfortunate emigration. The actions relating to emigration or the unfair treatment of émigré Poles often did not countenance the EU interest-based discourse. In Britain, EU integration was contextualized as a contributing factor to self-evidently 'catastrophic' actions relating to European migration. Both of these conflicts occurred amid a seemingly worsening domestic economy. As I will show in this chapter, national identity conceptions caused popular press narrative to rarely take up the actual EU discourse. However, the EU was still mentioned in non-elite news narrative. This provides support for the media's role in fomenting disgruntlement into moral panic; said institutions were built into an almost folk devil-style villain. In Spain, by

contrast, the EU statements were counted as a relevant side of the story. It often was contextualized as being on the positive side of the conflict. Paradoxically, however, this meant that the negative uncertainty of the integration process, and its possible consequences for Spaniards, caused the EU transactionalist discourse to lack credibility. This could provide some evidence for common interests crafting a broader European patriotic identity (Clift and Woll, 2012; Rosamond, 2012). Yet, I maintain that is not the case. As I pointed to in Chapter 4, this narrative dimension of the examined press discourse indicates that the contestable nature of Spanish national identity makes the supranational discourse more relevant as a side of conflict in news. In what follows, I present the main issues constructed in the examined popular press discourses, through '*When*' events were contextualized as news. Then, I look at '*How*' conflict related to these issues was elaborated, through the reporting of related events in Poland, UK and Spain.

Painful reminders of underdevelopment: '*When*' free movement made the news in Poland

As we have seen in Poland, crisis-events constituted positive change that related to free movement in a minority of cases. However, in terms of conflict, the EU discourse regarding solidarity in common interest was often not countenanced as a relevant side of the story. Thus, they related it negatively to integration in only 38.7% of articles related to free movement (Table 1). News articles related main crisis-events temporally to other realities or uncertainties in terms of '*When*' an event constituted news by contextualizing those events against the continuance of deviant economic realities in the country. The equality of competition provided for by the single market was portrayed as a threat to positive future outcomes for Poles. As such, when the terms

of the conflict set in, the EU discourse of interest was not counted as relevant in terms of '*When*' an issue made the news.

EU movements rights: A consolation to deviant underdevelopment

Across issues in which integration of the single market for persons was seen to cause a positively relevant crisis event, popular news discourse did not view it as part of a larger effort, taken in an attempt to help ensure solidarity between the Member States. In terms of '*When*' a given crisis was seen to occur, the narratives of individual stories became part of larger issues. Specifically, the perceived continued underdevelopment of Poland served as a backdrop for the crisis-events. In such cases, the EU's measures -- when discussed -- were portrayed as failing to assuage that relevant problem. This caused said measures to find themselves on the negative side of the conflict. For instance, articles regarded the accordance of EU-wide access to healthcare positively overall. However, said measures were contextualized as occurring amid the continued defunct status of the Polish healthcare system, in terms of '*When*'. For instance, the following article provides the information that it is now possible to go abroad for treatment ('*Why*'). But, it then goes on to mention that this is only necessary, as currently in Poland: "searching for [medical] help from an endocrinologist in a public clinic can possibly take around one and a half years, from a cardiologist and orthopedist around five months, from a neurologist one and a half months" (Metro, 19 Feb). Thus, instead of EU free movement rules being positioned as working to solve the relevant crisis, it is seen to do little to address the root cause of the underlying issue - the lack of availability of doctors in Poland. Issue-conflict continues to occur ('*When*') even as the EU takes action ('*How*'). This would seem to indicate that national identity clashes with the

EU discourse by holding it as irrelevant as a side of conflict. It stands to solve the symptoms, instead of what the news narrative views as the negative context of the temporal conflict.

In other cases, in which an event related to free movement was positioned as causing positive crisis-oriented change, articles sometimes equivocated between uncertain outcomes in terms of the context of conflict. The backdrop of EU integration was sometimes contextualized as being on both sides of it. Positives for the Polish national in-group, however, were defined in terms of mere convenience. Changes occurred amid a competitive environment, in which the single market was portrayed as standing to limit the 'positive' outcome: amelioration of Poland's status of perceived underdevelopment. This was most apparent in the set of articles regarding the crisis-issue of Croatia's accession to the EU. They contextualize it as occurring at a time 'When' it is already redundant in terms of convenience for Polish travelers, but could stand to hinder bilateral business ties (Textbox 1):

Textbox 1: 'When' Polish articles narrated the issue of Croatia's accession as occurring

Bilateral relations positive, in context of integration as a threat from the West:

'We have a vitally resourceful reputation in Croatia,' says Dr. Leszek Małczak, a Slavic studies professor at the University of Silesia. 'And also our nine-year experience in the EU'...But are Polish firms, however, able to compete with other enterprises in the EU, specifically from Italy?'
(Metro, 23 May).

Non-negative, but in context of free movement as a redundant convenience:

Unfortunately going to Croatia, we will still require a passport. That's because this country probably won't enter the Schengen area until 2015. Although an agreement is applied to Poles, which allows for travel to Croatia for a period of 90 days with only a national ID card - However, a passport could turn out to be essential, possibly at the doctor's or a government office (Fakt, 1 Jul).⁷²

⁷² The claim made in this quote is at least partially incorrect. EU citizens traveling to Croatia could do so with only their identity cards from the time Croatia entered the EU, regardless of its implementation of Schengen.

Thus, even when the crisis related positively to EU integration, the right of free participation in the single market served as either irrelevant (non-negative) or as a negative side of the conflict in terms of 'When' said event was contextualized as occurring. As such, it begins to provide evidence that, as conflict was elaborated, it did so due to a clash between the EU discourse and identity-based interest perceptions. This further serves to contravene interest-based theories of common identity creation.

Migration as occurring amid a continued threat of inequality with the West

Above, it is interesting to note that a large western Member State was singled out as standing on the negative side of the valenced conflict, in terms of 'When' integration was seen to occur. As we will see, articles in the corpus regularly pointed to Poland's lower development level, or the increasingly uncertain/unequal position of Poles who move west within the single market as the temporal backdrop. As I argue, this is indicative of an identity-based filter, which causes the EU discourse to not be taken up as a relevant side of the issue-narrative. The presence of this lens becomes more apparent in those instances in which supranational integration constituted deviance in and of itself; the two clashed directly in news narrative.

'When' a crisis-event was contextualized negatively as occurring, two main issues stood out. The first relates to the issue-crisis of British/Western attempts to curtail benefits to citizens of Poland.⁷³ This was imbued upon an ongoing conflict over the equal treatment of Poles as EU

⁷³ Here, I focus mainly on the role of the UK in Polish news. However, some articles did relate to the provision of benefits in other Western Member States, especially Germany.

migrants abroad. Such concern could be taken as evidence of patriotic affection to the level of the single market; some have argued that this could arise on the basis of interests (see Chapter 3). However, this was not because the Polish popular discourse held solidarity in the single market to be in the common affective interest of all EU citizens. This becomes clear when stories related to the treatment of mobile Poles as contextualized against the EU-2's gaining of full employment rights in the Union. The second issue regarded free movement as unfortunate, bi-lateral emigration to Western Europe. In news, such movement occurred against a slowly worsening domestic economic situation in the country. As would be expected by identity-based accountings of resistance to integration, in both cases, the EU's discourse was considered to be non-credible, or not contended temporally as a side of the story.

As we have seen in the crisis chapter, news articles addressed possible curtailments of often-UK benefits to (EU) immigrants. This was covered as a crisis with potential uncertainties, which were portrayed as exclusively having consequences for the national in-group. This narration, therefore, sides with previous academic literature that suggests the continued absence of a European public sphere. It is also unsurprising that the popular Polish press discourse placed Poles on the positive side of the conflict, in terms of '*When*', by contextualizing British activities as occurring due to the self-evident threat of immigration from Romania and Bulgaria to Poles (Textbox 2):⁷⁴

⁷⁴ It is interesting to note this seemingly incoherent narrative framing of Romanian and Bulgarian migration, considering that the Polish articles were largely uncritical of Croatia's accession, in terms of granting citizens of the former Yugoslav state free movement rights. This may be due to the fact that articles which mentioned the end of the EU-2's adjustment period related specifically to Western curtailment of benefits and employment access to Poles, while Croatia's longstanding status as a vacation destination for Polish holidaymakers may have stood to alter what national identity conceptions flagged as relevant about that country's accession.

Textbox 2: Benefit curtailment in light of the 2013 adjustment period's end

Romanian and Bulgarian expansion exacerbates deviant British actions; EU not mentioned:

A section of the conservative press, including Daily Mail, is pleased with growth and employment of Britons and believes that the number of people who work favor strengthened immigration law. It's the latest voice in a media discussion on the topic of the place of immigrants in Great Britain. Presently, its citizens are looking, terrified at the flood of the next wave of foreigners that's related to the expected opening of the British labor market to residents of Romania and Bulgaria in January 2014 (Metro, 21 Feb).

National in-group less 'problematic' in context of coming expansion:

There may be a lot of Poles at the moment, but that's not the only problem for the British government. Already in January 2014 there will approach two of certainly greater importance: Romanians and Bulgarians who have the right to gain work on the islands (Fakt, 29 Nov).

Benefits curtailment contextualized as occurring because of EU labor market opening:

From January, the immigrant searching for work [in Britain] will no longer be able to apply for housing benefit, for their first three months they will not be able to make use of unemployment benefit (today it is possible to obtain it after a month), that aid will be granted for six months. Then it will be necessary to prove that he or she has a 'realistic prospect of employment'. The rules regarding the granting of aid to those earning the least will change. These changes have to be targeted at the Romanians and Bulgarians, for whom the EU labor market becomes open in January 2014. According to estimates, over the course of the next five years as many as 250,000 of these countries' citizens will come to Great Britain. Today the largest group of immigrants on the islands is Poles - there are about 580,000 of us there. (Metro, 9 Dec).

Above, it is clear that by contextualizing British statements and actions as occurring due to anticipated immigration from two other states, Poles are cast in the position of innocent bystanders -- ones who could stand to lose because of British signal crimes. As noted, some articles do mention the EU's role in lifting restrictions on the employment of individuals from the EU-2. However, the EU response to the UK's actions was not often counted as a temporally relevant part of the narrative. That the popular press would not report on the EU institutions in this manner is perhaps unsurprising. Yet, what is important is that it shows the continued absence

of an affective European identity in non-elite discourses. Instead of recognizing citizens of the EU-2 as equal members of 'Europe', the examined press discourse looked to those other national groups as a less-moral scapegoat, which, it implies, are prompting the main crisis-event -- the UK's deviant actions.

Thus, in the 'picture' of reality created by the Polish tabloids, what is perceived as the uniformly disintegrative intent of the UK cemented on the negative side of the conflict. The market-making activities of the EU are negatively contextualized as facilitating this through allowing citizens of progressively more countries to migrate. By contrast, these changes are listed as occurring at a time when abstractly large numbers of the national in-group could suffer from unequal treatment at the hands of a powerful Western country. Therefore, the Romanians and Bulgarians are not considered to be Europeans with which one has a common basis for solidarity. They are instead painted as faceless villains, who are themselves considered to be a threat to Polish perceived interests. At the same time, possible consequences for the national in-group that could be caused by emigration from Croatia are not addressed as a temporal outgrowth of that country's accession, precluding the existence of a nationally bound interest-based debate. The EU-level discourse of solidarity in the single market through common benefit gets drowned out as a side of the conflict. The EU and citizens of its Member States are placed in context on the negative side of that issue-conflict. The seeming total innocence of the Poles in the UK, as the positive side of in the story, appears to act as confirmation of self-evidently unfair or unequal treatment of the national in-group.

Therefore, as I have argued, a situation is defined by press narrative that could eventually build into moral panic as this issue moves toward resolution. At the same time, the EU discourse

clashes with national identity conceptions. The possibility of net-benefits of migration is not explored, nor are the interests of the other parties concerned. This would be necessary to bear out interest-based theories of migration. In terms of 'When' events related to the issue of Poles' treatment in the West, the narrative created by the examined articles became cemented on a national 'us' versus threatening, non-national 'them' narrative. As we have seen in chapter three, this was suggested by a combination of the news framing and moral panic literatures.

Emigration contextualized against economic woe: Where is the EU?

Conversely, 'When' stories addressed crisis-issues related to the continued necessity of Poles to migrate westward, it was the economic or developmental state of the country that provided the deviant temporal backdrop. In Chapter 5, I showed that crisis-events regarding migration to the West for work were rarely portrayed as an opportunity provided to Poles as EU citizens. This is to be expected in contravention of transactionalist accountings of patriotic affection development. Findings on this issue, regarding the 'When', are in keeping with this. The EU discourse did not often constitute a relevant side of the debate. Instead, it was friction between Poland's continued economic state and a normatively good, yet apparently non-existent, one of growth and development. Despite providing much material aid to Poland in the form of funding and the right to free movement's allowing for remittances, the EU was not put forth as temporally acting to assuage this deviant economic situation.⁷⁵ Instead, articles whose crises

⁷⁵ In reality, though growth and employment did slow in Poland after the financial crisis, the country never fell into recession. The fact that articles regarded the country's economic state as so apparently dire, vis a vis other countries, provides further evidence that the EU discourse of reasonable interests is not being taken up. As argued in Chapter 2, it argues for the provision of as much benefit in integration as can reasonably be expected, given the circumstances.

involved emigration or employment statistics ('*What*' and '*Why*') often contextualized them by reporting that the statistics came out as the economy was seen to worsen ('*When*') (Textbox 3):

Textbox 3: Emigration contextualized as occurring amid worsening/depressed economic state

Temporal tension between emigration and unemployment:

Two point three million Poles are without work. That's almost 200,000 more than just last year. The worst week is yet before us. In the opinion of Vice-Minister of Work Jacek Męcina, in March the unemployment level could reach 15%... So it's not at all surprising that more and more people are thinking of going abroad to meet their basic needs (Fakt 25 Feb).

Contextualization of emigration increasing as economy worsens:

The situation of young people on the job market has never been so dramatic. Already almost 30% of graduates can't find a stable occupation (in 2011 26% had problems) and economists worry that the group of unemployed youth (over 400,000 persons under 25 don't have a job) could increase... meaningfully a willingness for migration has grown in them (Metro, 8 Apr).

Emigration unfortunate as opportunities in home country continue to be deficient:

'Here [in Britain] we have an apartment, jobs, children and an amazing future. In Poland we could only ever have wished for that,' they add sadly (Fakt, 6 May).

As argued in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, publics may not perceive benefit from integration, once that process is viewed through the lens of identity-based interest perceptions. In terms of what the Polish popular press flagged as the relevant context of an event, this would appear to be the case. Instead of portraying EU free movement as a benefit that exists to facilitate this movement, in context of European economic woe, that right is largely held as irrelevant. As I have maintained, Member State publics may not countenance the possibility of such benefit, if national identity remains prime in determining interests. Here, this appears to be the case. Emigration, as resultant from free movement rights, clashes with national identity-based interest

perceptions. Movement resulting from that right is seen only as an unfortunate necessity, occurring as part of an ongoing conflict over Poland's economic state.

In Poland, a historical emigration country, the continued necessity of economic departure occurred, in terms of '*When*', amid a backdrop of an ostensibly worsening economy. This supports previous investigation of Polish media framing of EU migration. Though, the more exclusively critical character of this movement-related narrative does seem to be more strongly evident in the Polish tabloids examined here (Dzięglewski, 2015, Lesińska and Pokojńska, 2015). Free movement is seen to do little to address the negative conflict, except highlight it: The EU and Western Members are portrayed as negatively facilitating the continuation of deviance. This also adds color to past studies of media discourse of EU migration in Poland. They have more directly highlighted reporting of negative externalities of migration to the West, such as split-up families or abandoned dependents (Lesińska, 2013). The EU integrative rationale clashes with an identity-based press discourse. The right of free movement is contextualized as emigration occurring amid continued economic woe, and at a time '*When*' the rights of those who have chosen to leave could be yanked away at any time. Further, as I noted in Chapter 2, some have argued for the possibility for issues to be discussed as having their sides defined in terms of a European debate across national discursive landscapes (Fligstein, Polyakova, and Sandholtz, 2012; Risse, 2014). In keeping with the findings of others, this does not appear to be the case, based on the data here (Hurrelmann, Gora and Wagner, 2013). In terms of '*When*' events were seen to occur in Poland, the sides of the conflict remained defined according to the boundaries of national identity.

Brussels jams the floodgates wide: '*When*' free movement made the news in Britain

Even in the small minority of the examined British news items that related positively or at least rather neutrally to the free movement of persons, the EU discourse of common net-benefit was, unsurprisingly, not present. However, in terms of '*When*' a given event was contextualized as happening, this was because said discourse clashed with identity-based interest perceptions: Like in Poland, the EU discourse was considered irrelevant. In a small minority of cases, the temporal context given was not negative '*When*' stories regarded national resolution of ongoing issue-conflicts as part of their crisis-events. However, contextualization of stories related to free movement, in the examined British popular discourse, remained valenced in an overtly negative manner, more than two-thirds of the time (Table 2). When the temporal context portrayed free movement negatively, it was most apparent in stories whose-crisis events were caused by the sheer numbers of EU migrants coming to the UK, or fears over benefits tourism. As we have seen, these discourses were co-existent with crisis-issues relating to migrant crime. Within this discourse, the faceless folk-devil-like, manner in which the EU was positioned to the facilitation of deviant events, provides evidence not only for the argument that identities remain prime in influencing interests. Also, these identities, as taken up in news, could stand to suggest moral panic: They contextualize the EU institutions as self-evidently on the negative side of the conflict, while not taking up its justificatory discourse, thus standing to build disgruntlement into a possible call for action (Lecheler, Schuck and De Vreese, 2013).

Free movement: Less relevant to the contextualization of conflict

'*When*' the temporal context regarding events related to the free movement of persons did not portray that right in a directly negative manner, this did not mean that the EU discourse was taken up as a positive side of the story. Articles of this nature focused on finding UK solutions to

ongoing European conflict-issues. However, they did not reference the EU as a causal factor for the original problem. For instance, an article regarding the setting up of UK police units in various countries around the world mentions:

Poland is one of five 'priority' countries identified by the Home Office and the NCA. Vietnam, China, Albania and Nigeria will also have UK police bases. The former Eastern bloc country is attractive for gangs trying to bring in under-age prostitutes and other sex workers because of its EU membership – granting its citizens full access to the UK. It is also at the heart of other scams, such as sending Polish women to the UK to take part in 'sham weddings' to non-EU citizens they have never even met (Daily Mail, 23 Sep).

The above article still does single out Poland for its EU membership. However, there is nothing indelible about the process of EU integration as causing the wider problem of trans-border crime or standing in the way of the issue's resolution. Instead, the conflict here is defined temporally as between protagonistic British law enforcement and antagonistic criminals. As such, the EU is seen to be present. However, its position regarding such deviant behavior was not regarded as a relevant side of the story. Further, if the EU's market making were more directly mentioned in stories such as these, it would likely have been positioned on the negative side of the conflict in terms of '*When*'. The UK's deviance-solving actions would only be seen as needed (not necessarily incorrectly) due to the EU's free movement. However, in either case, national identity conceptions keep any actual stance that the EU may have (e.g. that sex trafficking is bad) from being a side of the narrative.

Unsurprisingly, in the majority of examined cases, the '*When*' of a given article's narrative related negatively to free movement. This was due to the fact that articles often pointed out a given crisis-event as occurring during, just before, or in the aftermath of other trends or threatening events. What is relevant is that this does not represent a more balanced weighing of interests, as I argue would be necessary for confirmation of interest-based theories of integration.

Instead, said threatening events clashed self-evidently with national identity-conceptions of normalcy. They were seen to be grossly not in the perceived interest of the national in-group. Notably within this, issues such as new migration statistics, the attractiveness of UK benefits to EU migrants, and migrant crime contextualized their signal crimes by setting them against a threatening trend. This was accomplished through the provision of more statistics and figures, in terms of 'When' those deviant crisis-events occurred. EU integration was sometimes contextualized with relation to them. However, it was seen to clash on the negative side of the conflict with perceived British interests, for forcibly allowing what were portrayed as uniformly denigrated EU migrants into the country. Thus, the veracity of the supranational discourse of common interests was not examined or contended. This argues against the viability of net-benefit based rationales for the altering of solidarity-ties.

The 'threat' of new immigration in plausible context of migrations

In instances in which articles from the corpus addressed statistics related to migration as causing the crisis, reports gave further context to said figures in terms of 'When' by comparing them with past experiences of EU migration. Specifically, the 2004 expansions were often brought up and negatively positioned as a side of an ongoing issue-conflict over migration. Unlike in Poland, UK national identity conceptions often flagged migration from the continent as occurring because of EU integration. Migration statistics or pledges by national politicians caused EU integration to be placed on the negative side of the conflict by setting it amid a trend that was portrayed as self-evidently threatening to the national interest (Textbox 4):

Textbox 4: Current/future migration contextualized with past figures

Expected wave of future immigration compared with past enlargement:

He [Cameron] pointed out estimates had proved unreliable in previous instances of EU migration. 'If you look at what the calculation was in the case of Poland, it was something like 14,000 – a ridiculously low number – and it turned out to be many, many times that so we don't want to make that mistake again so it's right to take the time and get this right.' MPs have previously warned that up to 300,000 migrants from Romania and Bulgaria could move to these shores when current restrictions expire on December 31 this year (Daily Mail, 13 Jan).

Threat of European immigration occurs amid attempts to slow it and disapproval:

But figures show 25,000 extra migrants from troubled European countries pushed up net migration — the difference between those entering and leaving — in the past year from 167,000 to 182,000. A poll found 64 per cent view European immigration with hostility (The Sun, Dec 3).

In the above, the statistics are intended to provide information as to the situation in which the new figures have come out. However, these figures themselves remain almost completely de-contextualized. In the broader realm of politics, these figures might be interpretable in context of political pledges and policies regarding immigration. However, this is not relevant here because these issues are not connected in the popular press discourse regarding EU migration, in terms of 'When' that migration is occurring within the collected articles. Further, there is little given to evidence that these expected or past numbers are actually significant, other than that they sound nebulously large. Instead of an attempt to provide interpretation of new figures or pledges, in terms of threat to interests, the numbers appear self-evidently offending in terms of identity conception. In these cases, there was often little attribution given to justify why the context-giving figures were on the negative side of the conflict. This is in keeping with arguments in the academic debate regarding the tendency of the popular media to create a readily believable portrait of reality for their readership (see Chapter 4; Wodak 2015): The figures seem plausible within an identity-biased 'us' versus 'them' conflict over the home country being overrun by

large numbers of 'others'. Further, if as I argue, national identity conceptions remain prime in the perceptions of interests, it is unsurprising that the supranational discourse itself was often not considered relevant. It does not fit within this nationally bound portrait of reality. Still, immigration resultant from free movement rules is related temporally as being on the negative side of the conflict.

The EU as negatively encouraging instances of 'benefits tourism'

'When' context was given temporally to articles relating to EU migrants' reasons for coming to the UK, crisis-events related to benefits tourism (see chapter 5). In these cases, articles also contextualized EU integration as self-evidently on the negative side of the conflict. This was done by providing context -- often regarding the decision of Romanians and Bulgarians to move to the UK -- about disparities in living standards or benefits. Additionally, vague EU 'rules' were often pointed to as allowing for such movement. Of course, none of this may be untrue. However, what is important here is that little is given in the way of 'actual' costs and benefits. This would be necessary for a more interest-based accounting of integration to be viable. It may be possible to argue that this is because journalists are not expected to report in this manner (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012; Jager and Maier, 2009; McNair, 2009). The point here is that the fact that they do not only provides more support for identity-based accountings of resistance to integration. Again, articles provided context to the crisis of immigration from the EU simply by implying that its threatening nature was plausible. Yet, no causational evidence is given that social benefits-oriented migration can, does or will occur en-masse, other than a listing of the current differences in benefit amounts, or expenditures (Textbox 5):

Textbox 5: The self-evident plausibility of rampant benefits tourism

Current benefits disparities make benefits tourism seem likely:

The only state benefit available in either country is child benefit, which is £3.50 per child per week in Bulgaria and £3.69 in Romania. In Britain, a single person can claim up to £71 a week in jobseekers' allowance and a couple can claim £111. Housing benefit varies depending on local authorities. Child benefit adds another £20.30 a week for the first child and £13.40 for each one after that... We are obliged under EU law to pay some income-related benefits to EEA workers, self-employed people and jobseekers,' said a [department of work and pensions] spokesman. From January 1, 2014 that will also include the Bulgarians and Romanians (Daily Mail, 27 Jan).

Expenditures sound threateningly large, but not necessarily significant:

That is up from 431,687 in 2006. They cost the NHS more than one per cent of last year's annual £109 billion budget — far higher than the £3.4 million that "nonactive" EU migrants cost the French. The number of "job seeking EU migrants" increased 73 per cent between 2008 and 2011 (The Sun, 14 Oct).

Regarding the issue of benefits tourism, the uniformly opportunistic motives of the migrants are merely implied. Through the quoting of such disparities, their motives plausibly appear to be less than sterling and, thus, to cause an ongoing conflict with a perceived British interest. The EU rules are seen to negatively facilitate this conflict between the threatened national in-group and the 'folk-devil' benefits migrants. This argues against interest-based rationales of identity formation through market making. As would be expected if this is the case, national identity conceptions, as taken up in popular news, do not seem to entertain the notion of the single market as providing for common rights or benefits.

In addition to the portrayal of prospective EU migrants as causing crisis, the EU is presented in a negative manner as a side of the temporal conflict. It is important to note that the

EU discourse -- beyond it having vaguely threatening rules -- is not present or accurately reflected as the conflict became cemented through the provision of trend-oriented context ('*When*'). As such, it begins to take on the character of a 'folk villain,' which works against the self-evident perceived interests of the nation, in popular press narrative. This is significant. As I maintained in chapter three, if the barriers accorded by national identity remain antecedent in the construction of interests, this could lead anything that originates from beyond the normalcy of national bounties to be perceived as a self-evident threat. Through this, disgruntlement regarding said threat could be incited into moral panic through news narrative.

The context of further integrative measures as allowing for migrant crime

The discursive constructions used, in terms of '*When*' events related to the crisis-issue of migrant crime were news, often positioned the temporal context of integrating the single market as being on the negative side of the conflict. The EU discourse of common benefit was not present such that it clashed with identity-based interest perceptions. The temporal context for crisis-causing figures related to crime were often given through the provision of plausible but abstract numbers; the thieves in question seem at least partially representative of their countrymen. Thus, the coming opening of the single market becomes defiantly threatening to the perceived interest of national identity as part of an ongoing conflict over assuring the safety of the national in-group (Textbox 6):

Textbox 6: EU market-making as facilitating migrant crime

Coming Romanian and Bulgarian expansion linked with existing migrant crime:

The stats will fuel fears of a crime wave when restrictions on immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria are lifted at the end of the year. There are currently around 90,000 Romanians in the UK and Scotland Yard revealed 27,725 were nicked in the capital in the last five years. Last night Tory MP Philip Hollobone, a part-time Transport Police special constable, told The Sun that most pickpockets arrested on the Tube in London were Romanian. He said: "In my experience eight out of ten are Eastern European — and virtually all of those are Romanian" (The Sun, 28 Feb).

Members of national out-group as criminals as EU increases access:

Figures from the Met Police revealed that 41 Romanians have been prosecuted or cautioned for living illegally in homes in the capital since anti-squatting laws came into effect last September. Poles made up the second biggest national group, with 16 of its citizens prosecuted or cautioned for squatting. Only 13 Britons have been arrested for squatting in the capital in the same period. Other countries where squatters came from included Spain, Algeria, Ireland, Italy and Nepal. The figures will fuel growing concern about the number of Romanians and Bulgarians who will come to the UK when controls are lifted on January 1. Many fear large numbers will migrate from the Balkan states, the poorest members of the EU (Daily Mail, 22 Mar).

EU movement seen to serve as facilitating crime in Britain:

The coach [which contained petty criminals] was one of many laid on in coming days to take advantage of European Union orders forcing Britain to end restrictions on who can enter from Romania and Bulgaria from tomorrow (The Sun, 31 Dec).

Obviously, when considered in a vacuum, the fact that a given individual has entered a country and committed a crime is not in the interest of those who already reside there. However, what is important here is that the further opening of the EU single market is posited exclusively as allowing only for these sorts of crisis-causing threats. Solidarity is not seen to be engendered through interaction as argued for by the EU rationale, or its related academic arguments. Moreover, as with the other narratives relating to EU immigration, in terms of '*When*' it related to crisis, little justification is given for the representativeness of the above context-giving figures. They are implied to resemble the broader character of free movement. In keeping with arguments for fomentation of identity-based resistance to the EU, the Union is seen to worsen the crisis caused by the arrival of uniformly undesirable 'others', '*When*' it further integrates the single market. Instead of gaining any actual traction as a side of the story, it is likely that the EU discourse regarding common interaction would lack credibility, if present.

Thus, like in Poland, the UK popular press discourse rarely counted the actual EU discourse as a relevant side of the story, such that it was context to a crisis-issue. In both countries, crisis-events were contextualized amid others as occurring in terms of consequences for the nation-state and its citizens, exclusively. Those from the 'outside' were viewed in different ways in the two countries, but in a self-evidently deviant manner in both cases. This provides further evidence for how identity conceptions present in news can influence perceptions of threatening deviance, such that rationales for interest-based affection to the single market cannot get underway. However, unlike in the migrant sending state, British popular press discourse viewed the EU more explicitly as on the threatening side of the conflict, as opposed to rather irrelevant. This largely provides support for previous studies conducted regarding perceptions of the role of the EU in UK debates on migration (Balch and Balabanova, 2014; Mawby and Gisby, 2008). In keeping with the literature related to news framing and moral panic, the EU discourse of common net-benefit did not constitute a substantive side of the conflict. The lens of national identity-based interest perceptions caused it to become a faceless, threatening force that made various signal-crimes possible.

In the EU we are all one nation: 'When' free movement made the news in Spain

The popular press narrative in Spain tended to view free movement as rather neutral in the overall narrative (see Table 7 in Chapter 4). However, 'When' a crisis-event was contextualized as occurring remained the most negatively valenced of all of the five W's and one H storytelling components, besides the 'What'. The 'When' portrayed free movement negatively in 63.4% of the examined articles (Table 3). Some articles did take up the EU discourse of solidarity in interaction in a single market; they viewed it as an opportunity, with regard to crisis-causing

events. Unlike in the other two cases, this could point toward some support for the more interest-based accountings of European identity formation: Union citizens are simply unable to work towards their interests in a deliberative manner (Bellamy, 2013; Verhaegen, Hooghe, and Quintelier, 2014). As we will see, articles contextualized opportunities afforded by free movement as under threat, due to conflicts within the EU, or other Member States. However, others mentioned free movement as not providing sufficient benefit to the Spanish in-group in its current form. This reflects the continued existence of identity-based issue narratives. Thus, the right of free movement of persons was perceived as possible positive for a Spanish national in-group. The current character of the integration process surrounding it meant that the EU discourse was considered much more often. But it was seen to clash, such that it lacked credibility amid current circumstances. As will be argued, the increased tendency of the Spanish popular press to provide an 'EU' side of the story may not point to the viability of more interest-based accountings of solidarity tie creation. Instead, the greater permeability of Spanish national identity conceptions already remains more open to supranational influence as a side of the story (Medrano and Gutierrez, 2001). This keeps popular press discourse from viewing the ideal of free movement in an overtly negative manner. However, the credibility of the common interest-based integration rationale is seen to be lacking, in context of the actions of other Member States.

Free movement as positive to a nation of Europeanized Spaniards?

As mentioned above, unlike in the other two examined countries, the EU-related discourse was taken up as a relevant side of the story in press narrative. This occurred rather frequently in terms of 'When' it was relevant with relation to a crisis-event. In a minority of cases, situations that reflected the supranational discourse were regarded favorably when integration was seen to work in the favor of Spain. Often, context was provided about the activities of

European officials, or the creation of new integrative measures, through calling attention to free movement as an opportunity that Europeans otherwise would not have (Textbox 7):

Textbox 7: Salient events as occurring 'When' free movement is a beneficial right:

European leaders carry out duties amid single market integration:

It has been reported that Fonseca [the head of the EU's representation to Spain] also has been present at the first hour of this Thursday at the inauguration in Badajoz of a session of the regional government and the University of Extremadura about the possibilities for Extremeño youths to work in Europe (20 Minutos, 14 Feb).

Further integration occurs during positive exercise of movement rights by Europeans:

"Three percent of the EU's active population lives and works in a different Member State than their own and 1.2 million workers work in another country although they continue living in their one of origin, in spite of the lack of information and protection that this mobility sometimes faces, according to the European Commission" (20 Minutos, 29 Apr, EU Commissioner for Employment).

Above, the right of free movement, in terms of the EU's discourse of benefits, is regarded positively, in terms of 'When' it is placed in context of event-crises that are poised to remove barriers to mobility. Further, in articles such as these, the tendency to contextualize further integration as occurring at a time 'When' movement takes place in one market of common citizens could be taken as evidence of a Europeanizing debate. This could support integration rationales that find their argumentational basis in the provision of common benefit. Yet, as I will argue, many other stories positioned the character of free movement temporally as contributing to the negative side of the conflict. This occurred in terms of perceived consequences, exclusively for a Spanish 'in-group'. Therefore, it does not represent an incipient European debate, in which the common benefit of integration is called into question.

The context of free movement: Creation of uncertainty for the national in-group

The continued primacy of national identity in determining interests becomes apparent in the context of '*When*' a certain crisis-event related negatively to free movement. In terms of Spanish national identity conceptions, articles portrayed EU integration as an antagonistic side of the conflict. However, this was not due to a portrayal of the supranational discourse itself as being negative. Narrative framing related to the possibility of the process being uncertain, regarding future consequences for the Spanish. This was somewhat similar to the Polish temporal narrative, about the apparent ability of free movement-related rights to be yanked away. Yet, unlike in the migrant sending country, articles in the Spanish cases related more directly to the EU discourse of net-benefit. This caused it to appear non-credible, at least in the current temporal milieu of '*When*' it was related to a crisis-event. The possibility of 'Brexit' was a prominent issue. News items also related temporally to the uncertain future of the single market as causing deviance (Textbox 8):

Textbox 8: Uncertain future of single market makes integration appear threatening

Single market positive, but under threat by other state-based interests:

The biggest enemy to the development of the single market, however, is the growing protectionism that is derived from the economic crisis going on across the European Union. "We have difficult times ahead," recognizes the European commissioner for the Interior Market, Michel Barnier, who alerts that "There cannot be protectionists in the Single Market." (La Razón, 1 Jan).

Threats of disintegration (Brexit) contextualize discourse of benefit to appear non-viable:

Never before has a speech of a British Prime Minister caused such a stir in the European Union... Ever since Christmas it has been known that this month he will pronounce an anticipated 'speech' in order to analyze relations between London and Brussels and no one is sleeping quietly... However, while the leaders on both sides of the Atlantic only foresee problems, the polls published during these days in the Press don't do anything else than give more support to independence (La Razón, 11 Jan).

It is not the EU discourse of common net-benefit in integration itself, which is deviant as a side of the conflict. Instead, that discourse is seen not to be borne out when tested; this is what places the current character of integration as somewhat negative. Ironically, the fact that the contentious character of continued integration is placed on the threatening side of the conflict, could seem to imply that integration would be counted in the Spanish interest. One could argue that this implies evidence for interest-based theories of support for EU integration: what is contextualized as a broader side of the issue is actually *disintegration*. Yet, this is not the case. Spanish national identity conceptions remained more clearly prime in coloring interest perceptions. This is because it is not the 'actual' benefits of market integration that were examined in the articles. The threatening character of disintegration flows from a self-evidently positive perception of the single market. This is unsurprising. Spanish public discourse tends to have a more 'europhile' character in general (Kaiser and Konigslow, 2016; Kopecky and Mudde, 2002; Vliegenthart et. al., 2008). However, however the focus of this research on free movement indicates that this is not indicative of the creation of economic patriotism-like affection to the single market. As I argued in Chapter 2, the EU discourse calls for the creation of solidarity through common net-benefit. This implies an affective willingness on the part of Member State populations to endure some gross loss for the larger whole. As will be shown, in those cases 'When' the character of emigration was portrayed negatively, a united national in-group was characterized as clashing against the perceived negative consequences of the integration process in an ongoing conflict.

A lack of solidarity ties: Barriers to migration as self-evidently unreasonable

'When' articles in the Spanish popular press provided context about the nature of the EU migration experience, they related to the obstacles to employment that are faced by Spaniards.

Some of these related to EU policies that flowed from its discourse. Yet, the national identity conceptions present in news narrative took issue with the exigencies of getting a job or subsisting abroad. They rarely focused on possible benefits or recognized possibly legitimate concerns of other Europeans. Instead, crisis-events that were perceived as negative for the national in-group were reported on in a self-evidently unfair manner. Like in Poland, this was de-contextualized from free movement as providing an opportunity. Thus, this press narrative did not base itself on assessment of interests (Textbox 9):

Textbox 9: Character of moving in single market 'unfairly' difficult

Getting a job in [in Britain] contextualized as too difficult to be a benefit:

Spaniards are having a progressively harder time carving out a future on the islands. In fact, those are not few, who complain that despite their training, they encounter difficulties to work even as a waiter, for which they now demand from you a good level of English. In the last decade, foreigners have made up three fourths of the new employees (La Razón, 24 Mar).

Current barriers to employment mean emigration likely to be unsuccessful:

According to the Federal Office of Statistics, in 2011, the last year that has complete data, 21,000 Spaniards arrived in Germany, but others, 11,000, something more than half, went back to Spain. The experts agree that the hitch of the language is difficult to solve in the short term: German is a language with hardly any roots in the schools of southern Europe, where English and French have been prioritized. Its complexity and distance from the Latin family make it difficult to learn quickly and at a distance (20 Minutos, 2 Jun).

Character of mobility currently insufficient to 'European' in-group's benefit:

He [an education advocate] believes that all European university students should be obligated to spend "at least" a semester abroad. Although he recognizes that it's "difficult" to obtain that, unless the financial system improves. "Disgracefully it [Erasmus] is a program that costs families money and if you don't have it, you won't be able to participate" (20 Minutos, 28 Jun).

Again, as was maintained in the state of the art, the EU interest-based rationale holds that integration should provide for as much common net-benefit as can reasonably be obtained given the circumstances. However, it is important to note in the above textbox that what may likely be

'reasonable' requirements for many positions or mobilities abroad (such as knowing the language), were regarded as self-evidently deviant. Some appeals to 'Europe' are in evidence. However, integration is contextualized as occurring amid a context that does not provide 'sufficient' benefit to Spaniards as Europeans. At the same time, the concerns of other European national groupings are not given recognition as a legitimate side in news. Therefore, this cannot be taken in support of affective solidarity tie creation, through the common opportunity provided by the single market. In these cases, the EU discourse regarding free movement did not make it into the news, in terms of *'When'* movement was related to a crisis-event or issue. Any discursive strand of common opportunity provision, reasonable expectations or fairness to other Europeans remained un-countenanced by the national identity conceptions present in news. *'When'* these events were reported as happening remained deviant if they were seen to adversely affect the Spanish in any way.

Despite this, it cannot be denied that the Spanish popular press narrative was relatively more receptive to including the EU discourse as a relevant side of the temporal conflict. Still, it was contextualized as a 'consolation prize' to lack of employment in the home country. It could be argued that this, at least implicitly, is again somewhat similar to the Polish case. Both popular press narratives related emigration to perceptions of the country's economic situation. However, the Spanish articles seemed to be somewhat more accepting of the facilitating role of free movement. This could be said to provide some support for the academic arguments that national interests allow for perceptions of benefit in integration. Yet, I maintain that this is not the case. As we have seen, the Spanish national press narrative tended to flag events related to regionalist or secessionist ambitions as relevant crisis-junctures (see Chapter 5). These events were positioned as threateningly deviant to the existence of a cohesive Spanish identity in terms of

crisis. The construction of Spain from multiple competing ethnic and linguistic groups may allow the context of European emigration to be viewed as more normalized by Spanish national identity conceptions, due to its tendency to reject secessionist ambitions in discourse:

"The exit of our youth to work abroad has two readings: One is painful because they're going because they don't have employment in Spain. But the other is positive and this is that when they go to the European Union... we can't consider that to work in the EU is to work abroad, because if we do that, we are equivocating" (20 Minutos, 2 Jun. PP Vice-secretary General).

The departures of youth to the EU are contextualized as occurring at a time '*When*' emigration is conflictually negative in terms of the country's economic situation. However, viewing the EU's role negatively in facilitating this is at odds with defining Spain as a united country. Therefore, it is true that the Spanish popular press discourse did contextualize the opportunity of movement rights and the EU as a relevant temporal side of the issue-narrative. This was unexpected, given my argument related to identity's role in perceiving interests. However, the way in which interests were discussed also does not reflect academic arguments made in support of the EU's integrative rationale. National identity may remain the prime factor, especially in light of '*When*' free movement was on the negative side of the conflict in the other two countries. Instead of providing support for the creation of patriotic ties to the level of the single market through interest, the identity-based conception of Spain as a nation remains contested (see Chapter 4). In Spain, this could explain what kept popular, national discourse from painting the principle of free movement negatively; doing so would resemble discourses of regionalism.

Unfortunate abandonment: '*How*' actions portrayed free movement in Polish news

In terms of the conflict in the Polish popular press, free movement was not often contextualized as a part of EU integration, in terms of '*When*' it occurred. Thus, is perhaps unsurprising that

actions related to free movement did not often take up statements or actions of the EU institutions, specifically, as promulgating the conflict (*'How'*). Still, popular press discourse did generally valence actions related to free movement as negative 51.6% of the time; this was more often than it did regarding *'When'* those actions occurred (Table 1).

In a small number of cases, national effort was required to counter what were billed as uniformly unfounded, negative opinions regarding Poles, held by those in the West. Additionally, more articles focused on actions of other national groups, as conflicting self-evidently with Polish perceived interests. Little mutual recognition was given to the concerns behind these actions (Nicolaidis, 2013). As such, this provides further support against interest-based arguments for creation of regional affection. Articles that did relate directly to EU free movement gave little processing time to statements or positions that would reflect the EU discourse of net-benefit in integration (Kitch, 2003). Instead, they focused on actions of other national officials -- mainly those in the UK -- as working to foster discrimination against members of the Polish in-group.⁷⁶ On the rarer occasions that actions of the EU or pro-EU leaders were actually mentioned, they were seen to be occurring in an anemic or deviant manner. As I argue, the lack of apparent or effective actions taken on behalf of the threatened in-group could stand to help incite moral panic over the state of integration and Poland's apparent economic situation. With regard to *'How'* actions related to free movement were cemented on a side of the conflict, the discourse/identity clash occurred either indirectly through the continued irrelevance of the EU 's actions as a side of the conflict, or clashed directly. It has been maintained that a more proactive role for the EU in countering the disintegrative claims could

⁷⁶ As a reminder, the five W's and one H are not completely discrete entities, such that they can be completely de-contextualized from one another. Relatively, the *'How'* proves the most difficult to disaggregate (see chapter 4).

increase prospects for positive press coverage (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007). However, according to the findings below, this may be unlikely. National identity conceptions perceive actions that come from beyond the nation-state as irrelevant or threatening.

Conflict as national action against negative Western perceptions & realities

Actions of the national in-group were placed on the positive side of a conflict resulting from crisis-events caused by the apparent views of other EU nationalities. This did little to paint the EU or its discourse of common benefit in interaction in a positive light. Integration or the right of free movement was rarely mentioned directly. However, it is apparent that cross-border interaction was portrayed as fraught with unfounded contention in a bi-lateral manner. In keeping with the role of the Polish press in nation building, the news narrative reinforces the cohesiveness of 'the Polish' through the actions or stances of Poles, taken against a vague threat from the outside (Dobek-Ostrowska, 2012). Actions related to EU were not always regarded negatively, here. However, that is because there is no mention of free movement rights, even though it was, in some cases, a necessary facilitating requisite of the crisis-event. National identity conceptions appear to count boundary-less movement as neither a relevant act that has brought the in-group into threatening conflict, nor an instance of exercising a beneficial right (Textbox 10):

Textbox 10: Acts of free movement not acknowledged as leading to conflict

Conflict as national acts defend against 'unfounded' Western opinion:

"The most valuable effect of this commotion [a Sun article on the city of Łódź] is the explosion of outrage among Poles on the Islands. A section of our countrymen are now putting pictures of the filthy streets of British cities and falling-down row houses on Facebook. That shows something... they are now standing in unexpected solidarity in defence of a Polish city" (Metro, 8 Jan. Marketing Expert).

Negative opinion of Poles leads to threatening conflict with official Western accounts:

But would Poles be so careless, that they would leave bottles for mineral water, and cans for Polish beer at the crime scene? Would they have used up to a thousand lumber brackets, sold in Poland, on the tunnel's wall supports? And maybe it's more likely [than what the German police say] that clever German criminals went shopping in Poland, so that they could throw the suspicion on Poles. As is known, Poles aren't held in the best opinion in Germany. It's another matter, if they also deserve it (Fakt, 24 Jan).

In this manner, conflict is seen to occur between a self-evidently deviant Western interpretation of a situation, and a 'more likely' Polish explanation. Of course, it is unsurprising that the tabloid-style press would not substantively investigate into the 'actual' nature of the situation, which it is conflictually narrating. However, as I have argued, at least some attempt to do this would be needed if interests could play a role in influencing identity conception. Instead, the accounting that is seen to work toward the vindication of the national in-group is seen to be more plausible simply for its standing to negate the deviant, foreign accusation. This is in keeping with my argument that national identity conceptions, as implicit in news, can influence narratives of issues so as to foment moral panic. Yet, the absence of the EU, above, means that publics may not necessarily direct such sentiments against integration.

However, with regard to other instances, the actions of Poles placed free movement more explicitly on the negative side of the conflict. Making use of said right was narrated as useless, superfluous, or unfortunate. Thus, any narrative of benefit in exercise of those rights is portrayed indirectly as unconvincing. This supports what I have argued in Chapter 3; any rationale of common benefit or a Europeanized debate is absent. Further, relating back to the '*When*', conflict was seen as occurring due to the continued need of Poles to take menial jobs ('*How*'). The result is a continuation of the issue-crisis regarding the national in-group's inequality, compared with the West (Textbox 11):

Textbox 11: Making use of free movement unwise amid character of integration

Taking employment abroad likely to result in menial employment:

In what professions it's easiest to find a job abroad - Great Britain: services, work in hotels and restaurants, office work and in the construction sector. - Germany: The automotive sector (warehouses and on the production line) in the building sector, also at airports and in farming and gardening. - Holland: work in gardening, rural work and in greenhouses (Fakt, 25 Feb).

Making use of full movement rights seen to be as superfluous:

Despite the possibility of legal employment [in Germany] the majority [of Polish women there] works without a contract. Most with regard to taking care of older and ill people, of which there can be 150-200 thousand on the gray market. At most, 8-10 thousand work legally. Polish women decide to work informally from calculation: If they find a family, they can make as much as two thousand Euros monthly. For work arranged through a brokering agency they receive on average 900-1,300 Euro. If someone works without a contract for years and doesn't encounter problems, they don't see a reason to change it (Metro, 4 Jun).⁷⁷

Instead of an opportunity, national identity conceptions define the actions of being employed abroad as deviant in terms of an ongoing issue-crisis over the economically unequal status of Poles in the single market. Polish emigrants' actions -- sometimes but not always -- are seen to prove impotent to resolving the issue-conflict of Polish auto-conceptions regarding their economic and perceptual position in the West. Thus, this represents further contravention of scholarly debates that advocate a role for common interest in fomentation of affection in the single market. Instead, the role of identity conception places the act of transacting in the single market negatively as a side of the conflict. Or, it portrays movement rights as simply irrelevant.

Western/EU actions as threatening to the national in-group

⁷⁷ The calculation mentioned in the article may indeed be a valid rationale for not making full use of free movement rights. However, the type of informal employment mentioned can only occur with such ease due to a lack of need for a Pole to receive a passport stamp or visa before entering Germany.

In instances in which *'How'* the free movement of persons did not relate to the contextual actions of Poles abroad, articles related to the deviant, discriminatory actions that Western leaders had taken, or were intending to take, in order to carry out signal crime-like crisis-events. However, these events were rarely contextualized temporally (*'When'*) in terms of EU integration; actions justified by the EU discourse of solidarity in common net-benefit were taken up as a relevant side of the conflict only very infrequently. When they were, the discourse/identity clash was again evidenced. The EU's actions related to its discourse were seen to be ineffectual, or carry risky consequences for Poles. Thus, this is supportive of my argument that national identity conceptions continue to place the EU discourse as non-credible, or as deviant for its position beyond the nation state. Polish articles positioned the organization as acting in complicity against the perceived Polish interest with Western members, when suggesting how these actions should be regarded by the readership as falling on a side of the issue-conflict (Textbox 12):

Textbox 12: Deviant portrayal of conflictual action by Western leaders and the EU

Western/British actions threatening; EU actions/statements not relevant in conflict:

Anita Karwowska [the journalist]: "Heretic or reformer? Was yesterday's speech by Prime Minister David Cameron about the European Union anti-EU in your opinion, or could it help with the reforming of the community?"

Jacek Kucharczyk, President of the Institute of Public Affairs: "I won't judge if this address to the European Union will emerge as something good. Prime Minister Cameron's assurances that he wants to reform the Union sound insincere, if the next sentence contains a threat about leaving it.

So, I don't take this speech as a declaration about fixing the EU" (Metro, 24 Jan).

Conflict of negative British actions with positive, but anemic, EU statements:

It's worse that Prime Minister Cameron doesn't want to end the limiting of access to benefits [for EU immigrants]: "Free access to the British job market can't be unlimited." He wrote and announced a renegotiation with Brussels about the EU rules. He sees an ally in Holland. Laszlo Andor, EU commissioner of the Directorate of Employment, appealed to Cameron about "not fueling an anti-immigration hysteria." (Metro, 27 Nov).

EU statements threaten to intensify negative side of conflict:

And if Great Brittan wants to leave the European Union, it must say so directly - Demands the Union. It's also about the announcement of Prime Minister David Cameron's drastic tightening of law. The goal of the changes is entirely limiting the number of immigrants on the islands. Brought also to this clear goal is the cutting of their social benefits and even deportation (Fakt, 29 Nov).

In these cases, the actions of the West (in this case Britain) were often addressed bilaterally and negatively with regard to conflict. However, in instances where Union statements reflecting the EU discourse are reported, they are, at most, seen to be impotent as opposition to the disintegrative actions. In other instances, rather than defend the right of Poles to move freely in the single market, such statements are seen to exacerbate the uncertain nature of that movement. This begins to imply a suggestion of the Union's complicity in promulgating conflict over the issue-crises of underdevelopment and the exploitative character of free movement. Theories of European solidarity creation through interaction are not borne out once the EU's actions are viewed through the lens of national identity ('How'). As a part of conflict, actions that both oppose and reflect the EU discourse, regarding benefits in integration, are positioned in narrative, so as to work to further hinder the prospects of the national in-group.

In relation to the above point, the stances and acts of pro-EU domestic politicians were placed as self-evidently on the negative side of the conflict in Polish news discourse. Here, it was a lack of action or apathy that proved problematic. The national economic situation in Poland was seen not to improve. Or, to possibly worsen, due to the (in)actions of the country's pro-EU leaders. As such, they were seen to be complicit with the continuation of the crisis-issues of underdevelopment and emigration as exploitation:

"I didn't come here to announce what the government and Europe is actively doing for each one of you," Piechocinski said to the young people listening to him. "I would like it if each one of you made one commitment. Every second one of you in this generation in Europe must make the

attempt of building their own place of work, not only for themselves," advised the vice premier. Young Poles are scandalized by such good advice. "It's so absurd!" explodes Katarzyna Tórz (23). "That's how farther on it will end with a great emigration" foresees the student from Wrocław (Fakt, 10 Sept).

In this case, the ongoing crisis-issue of emigration was seen to be fomented by the actions and statements of national pro-EU leaders, in terms of '*How*' conflict over it is occurring. Thus, they are placed -- along with the 'Europe' -- on the negative side of that conflict. Taken in context of the role that Polish historical-cultural identity plays in informing political debates, this narrative framing provides further support against arguments in the academic literature for creation of patriotic affection to the supranational level through common benefit (Borowiec, 2013; Lepiński, 2016)⁷⁸. Identity-based perceptions prevent the possibility of such benefit being perceived. Not only are the threatening actions of Western leaders placed on the negative side of the conflict in terms of '*How*' conflict related to free movement occurred; statements, which may reflect the EU discourse, also find themselves as standing to exacerbate issue-crises as well. National identity perceptions clashed with the EU discourse of common benefit. It was seen neither to address Polish concerns, nor to defend the Polish national position. Investigation into other European concerns was not given.

Senseless Dictates: '*How*' actions related to free movement were portrayed in UK news

In Britain, integrative actions were flagged as deviant from identity-perceived interests relatively the least of all of the storytelling components for that country. However, they continued to relate

⁷⁸ More specifically, rightist discursive strategies in Poland often attempt draw upon national memories by labeling those in opposing parties as members of an 'Układ'. This term can be loosely understood to mean an elite governing faction that works for other (sometimes foreign) interests, instead of the country's. However, more pervasive than a mere conspiracy, the term carries strongly negative and threatening connotations, given the country's communist, world war and earlier history.

negatively as a side of the conflict in only 60.4 percent of news items that related to the free movement of persons (Table 2). Like in Poland, this does not mean that a sizable minority of reports viewed these actions in a positive manner. In further contravention of those who have argued for the primacy of interests in leading to affection with the single market, EU actions, as justified by its discourse, were not counted as a side of the conflict. Similarly to '*When*' events related to free movement were contextualized as being neutral or positive, national actions were perceived to ameliorate already existing deviance ('*How*'). In these cases, such acts were seen not to involve the EU. When addressed in news, EU actions clashed in a self-evidently negative manner. Coverage did not entail much in the way of discussion of the action, or mention of the EU's discourse. Again, as I have argued in Chapters 2 and 3, this would be necessary in order to evidence the presence of an incipient, non-elite European affection. Instead, said acts were positioned as threateningly deviant -- and even having malicious intent -- for their origination outside the nation-state. As with the previous storytelling components, the '*How*' routinely took issue with the same issue-narratives of high levels of immigration and benefits tourism. The EU's lifting of internal barriers to movement merely served as a side of the conflict by constituting a facilitating act of the crisis-issue. The EU discourse was not reflected accurately, nor were costs and benefits investigated substantively. This statement is not necessarily meant to imply that journalists -- especially in the examined segment of the press -- should be expected to do so. Yet, the simple fact that they do not allows the narrative element provided by this storytelling component to serve as further evidence of the antecedent role of identity in influencing the perception of interests.

'How' UK national actions conflicted EU-created threats

In stories that related rather neutrally or positively to the integration process of the single market for persons, resolution of already ongoing conflict provided a salient crisis-event that could be produced as a news item. Conflict centered on the efficacy of national actions, which were aimed at achieving issue-resolution (*'How'*). As might stand to negate interest-based rationales for integration, the EU or any actions flowing from its discourse were not mentioned on either side of the conflict. In others, the continued negative deviance of a crisis-issue positioned EU integrative actions implicitly on the negative side of the conflict. This is similar to Polish articles, in which events that have a clear relation to the single market are defined as conflictual in a purely bi-lateral manner. However in the British popular press this occurred in a much smaller sub-set of articles. In either case, such narratives do not do much to provide support for arguments behind the EU's interest-based rationale (Textbox 13):

Textbox 13: Implicitly negative role of EU as national actions stand to remove deviance

Ongoing issue-conflict ameliorated by national actions; EU role not mentioned:

They will also be charged for non-urgent hospital treatment under action to halt abuse that costs the NHS millions of pounds a year. Health Secretary Jeremy Hunt will this week unveil a new registration and tracking system to spot freeloading foreign patients trying to rip off British taxpayers. Loopholes will be closed before the end of the year when restrictions are lifted on Romanians and Bulgarians coming to live here (The Sun 30 Jun).

Ongoing issue-conflict intensified; EU integrative actions implicitly present:

The Coalition was slashing the number of net migrants each year. That's a memory now. The figures are going back up. If, as expected, an extra 50,000 Romanians and Bulgarians arrive each year from January 1, we'll be back at square one (The Sun, 3 Dec. Opinion piece).

The above refers to the Romanian and Bulgarian adjustment period's end. As was indicated in chapter five, it was explicitly regarded as an action that could stand to negatively affect the national in-group. Articles imply that the lifting of restrictions could allow vaguely large quantities of 'others' to arrive in Britain. However, the EU was not mentioned at all in terms of '*How*'. Thus, the conflict is confined exclusively to the national sphere. For this reason, EU integration was not regarded negatively outright in the individual articles of this nature. The Union or its related discourse is completely absent. It is factually clear that the EU's integration of the single market played a role in allowing for the adjustment period's end. However, in the apparent conceptions of the journalists who wrote such news items, the Union's actions were not considered relevant. This provides further evidence for an argument of this dissertation: National identity conceptions influence perceptions of newsworthiness in such a way that public opinion could come to prove resistant to integration.

Further, European immigration is seen to relate negatively as a side of the story in an 'us' versus 'them' manner. This suggests support for arguments to the effect that situations clashing with the interests accorded by identity perceptions do not require substantive justification in news narrative in order to appear credible (Jager and Maier, 2009; Wodak 2015). Thus, that such investigation is not given in the examined press discourse may be unsurprising. However, if national identity conception remains prime, the tabloids' interpretation of which actions stand to conflict with perceived interests could appear viscerally plausible to readers. This may provide an explanation as to how this style of press reports in the way that it does: Identity conceptions are not only reflected in these press discourses; the self-evident plausibility of the related interest conceptions also allows these outlets' claims to seem credible without much attribution. As will

be shown, in articles in which the actions of the EU were directly addressed, in terms of 'How' conflict was narrated as occurring, integration was cemented as being antagonistic.

EU actions: A facilitator of the entry of 'threatening' out-group members

Articles whose crisis-events related to the issue of deviantly large numbers of EU migrants arriving in the UK, reported on this issue as explicitly facilitated by EU integrative measures. However, its discourse of solidarity through common net-benefit continued to remain absent. Therefore, I maintain that it clashes with the barrier of identity-based interest perceptions. This faceless portrayal allows the EU's actions to take on a scapegoat-like character due to conceptions held by British national identity. They are held by the examined popular press as morally wrong on a visceral level (Textbox 14):

Textbox 14: Positioning of EU barrier removal as 'How' 'threatening others' enter UK

EU lifting of national barriers positioned as 'How' national situation worsens:

“What is beyond dispute is that the relaxation of access restrictions will lead to larger numbers arriving. This is going to put severe pressures on a range of local services from housing and street cleaning to social care and community safety which are not currently recognised in any funding formula.” European 'freedom of movement' rules will from 2014 give 29 million Bulgarians and Romanians the right to live and work in Britain (Daily Mail, 13 Jan. Head of Westminster city council).

EU barrier removal means by which integration places members of in-group under threat:

But Mr. Farage said the revelations about the Brussels scheme gave the lie to Government claims that immigration could be controlled while remaining in the EU. He added: ‘For the minister to blame British businesses when he is taxing them in order to send the money to Brussels to fund foreign jobseekers to compete with British workers is so unfair as to be outrageous. We have said from the start we simply cannot improve unemployment in the UK while being a member of the EU.’ An EU spokesman stressed that British youngsters were able to use the scheme to access jobs elsewhere in Europe (Daily Mail, 26 Jul).

EU barrier removal means by which national government is prevented from resolving deviance:

‘In all honesty, whatever the Government does in terms of reducing the pull factors that draw people to Britain, as long as there is such an enormous disparity between EU member states in terms of income per head, there will be an overwhelming incentive for people to move from

poorer member states to richer member states,' she said (Daily Mail, 30 Nov. Theresa May, Home Secretary).

The seeming plausibility of these statements allows them to 'stand on their own.' There is little investigation into actual consequences, interests or the EU's actions. Again, the actions referred to above could be contextualizable in terms of other developments in British politics. However, the fact that this is not often done in the examined news articles provides little evidence that such connections exist in the minds of the readership, or exactly what those connections might look like. Thus, this narrative framing represents further evidence for the role I have maintained identity plays in influencing the perception of interests. Interest-based rationales for identity creation cannot be considered viable if the discourses related to them are not taken up or investigated. Possible benefit -- common or otherwise -- therefore cannot be perceived within these mass-mediated debates in national public spheres.

In the above it is also relevant -- if unsurprising given the press outlets studied -- to note that the EU remains largely without a voice. The discourse of common net-benefit related to its actions does not get out as a side of the conflict. However, in some cases the Union is portrayed as having graduated from simply enabling migration to, taking vaguely *encouraging* actions in order to incentivize behavior that national identity conceptions hold as on the threatening side of the conflict. Thus, the process of EU integration is seen to be characterized by self-evidently senseless action ('*How*'). As has been mentioned, some have argued that an affection of supranational patriotism can be fomented through common interest. Actions that are taken by the EU, according to this rationale, become self-evidently threatening when viewed through the lens

of identity-based interest perceptions. The empirical data here further bears out the theoretical existence of the discourse/identity clash.

Union integrative actions: Senseless given portrayal of migrants' motives

In stories that related to benefits tourism, British national identity conceptions used supposed acts by European migrants in order to portray the national in-group in a self-evidently positive character; the deviant acts of 'opportunistic' migrants stood to hurt them. Mutual trust or recognition was not accorded to the members of the out-group, as might be necessary to bear out transactionalist or interest-based theories of integration. The representativeness of incidents of benefits tourism on the part of EU migrants was not addressed. Here again, EU integration is positioned as negatively deviant as a side of narrative for facilitating these threatening acts. Any actual EU discourse regarding abuse of free movement rules was not taken up (see Chapter 2; Textbox 15):

Textbox 15: EU integrative acts as facilitating a representative threat of benefits tourism

Benefits tourism portrayed as an intent of EU market making acts:

The Work and Pensions Secretary [Iain Duncan Smith] declared: "We have one big battle here. It's all to do with the European Union. The Prime Minister's very strong on this one. People shouldn't use the free movement rules just to travel around looking for the best benefit that they can get. And that's the critical bit that the European Commission's got to understand (The Sun, 18 Feb).

Common EU Policy presented as act of dictation that threatens national in-group:

Another question raised is more explosive. In addition to the EU's 'open borders' policy, which will allow this influx of more East Europeans, why, even though Brussels contributes nothing to our welfare system, should it dictate what we may or may not provide with it, and to whom? (Daily Mail, 4 Mar).

Thus, despite the absence of the EU-based discourse from reportage, this did not mean that the often faceless or opaque Union described in the British popular press was characterized as

having no rationale for its causation of apparent conflict. Instead, its implementation of the single market was portrayed as allowing for the threatening behavior of migrants in the UK, in terms of their claiming benefits. Such behavior is something, this thesis has maintained, that is to be avoided according to the supranational discourse of reasonable net-benefit in integration.

As I have shown, national identity holds the motivation behind acts of EU migration as self-evidently threatening in the UK articles. This causes popular press discourse to assume that the Union's rationale for integration facilitates such deviant behavior. In this way, the Union's actions were portrayed on the negative side of the conflict. As has been mentioned by other research, threatening motives of the antagonistic actions are assumed, rather than investigated (KhosraviNik, 2014). This appears to have had the effect of downplaying arguments of liberal market principles in tempering anti-immigration sentiment, which previous empirical study of UK has found in the quality press (Drzewiecka, Hoops and Thomas, 2014). Thus, these findings are also in keeping with my argument that national identity conceptions continue to hold the nation-state as the normatively non-deviant level on which barriers to access should rest (Kholi, 2000; Smith, 1991). If the academic arguments for interest-based creation of affection in the single market were to be borne out, this should not be completely the case. Further, the assumed nature of the motives behind the EU's actions mean that it is not given an actual voice as a side of the free movement-related issues. This fact that could contribute to the fomentation of moral panic fueled by '*How*' actions of a folk devil-like Union facilitate threats to the national 'in-group' as part of an ongoing conflict.

Only wanting to 'win some': '*How*' movement-related acts were portrayed in Spanish news

Actions related to the free movement of persons related negatively to the integration process in terms of '*How*' they were news in the least amount of instances across the three sampled states (32.6%, Table 3). In many cases, the EU rationale of common interests resulting in patriotic affection to the single market was taken up as a side of the examined press discourse. However, unlike 'earlier' stages of the Spanish five W's and one H components might have suggested, this did not constitute evidence in support of that rationale. Instead, integration was regarded positively only in instances in which '*How*' that process occurred was seen to bring instrumental advantages exclusively for Spain. This demonstrates that affections of supranational solidarity were not present in the examined news narrative. Still, the fact that the discourse justifying the EU's actions was countenanced more often as a side of conflict, could point to some form of support for interest-based accountings for integration. However, as we will see, the cases in which EU actions were viewed negatively belie this interpretation. In these instances, filters of national identity did not pick up the EU discourse. Actions related to it clashed with identity-based perceptions of self-evident deviance from state-bounded normalcy. Actions were sometimes couched in the EU discourse in terms of '*How*' integration worked instrumentally for Spain. Yet, the articles still did not view any loss on the part of the national group as acceptable, which I have argued would be necessary for evidence of some form of supranational economic patriotism. Despite the increased visibility of the EU discourse in justifying '*How*' integration occurred, relative to the other two countries, the findings below continue to support identity-based accountings of resistance to integration.

Presence of EU discourse as a positive action in the Spanish press

Similarly to the '*When*', in cases where integration related to the free movement of persons was not negatively categorized, stories noted the EU's role in providing for an

opportunity in movement that would otherwise not exist. As such, the Spanish national popular press discourse again could stand against my argument regarding the role of national identity in shaping the perception of interests. Indeed, the EU was placed in narrative as providing its Member States with a very valuable asset. While this may be true, it was also clear that popular press discourse gave precedence to consequences for the national Spanish in-group. This could imply that the seemingly interest-based press discourse still found its roots in national identity conception (Textbox 16):

Textbox 16: Role of Identity in perception of EU as facilitating acts of free movement

Concern for acts of integration regarding the national in-group:

After reminding that "the interdependence between the Member States and the European Union is very strong" Barroso had defended that 'the interior market is one of the biggest assets of any country in the European Union. Spain exported to Portugal more than double what it sold to all of the Latin American countries put together' (La Razón, 3 Jan).

Act of free movement facilitated by EU discourse:

This prerogative also extends to the labor and economic environment, with the simple presentation of a certificate of employment or self-employment. The liberty of movements also benefits the retired, who can move to whichever country of the Union if they demonstrate some sufficient economic resources. This free circulation has one of its signs of identity in the Erasmus program that permits university students from all over Europe to complete their studies in universities of another member state (20 Minutos, 12 Jun).

Integrative actions taken according to principles of solidarity and fairness:

Those restrictions must end in all of the Member States on the 1st of January, 2014, reminded the [EU] spokesperson. Finally, he referred to the freedom of residence of all the citizens, including the Romanians and Bulgarians, and clarified that in all [EU] countries, after three months, it will be required to demonstrate that the financial means are available to not be a burden on the community (La Razón, 25 Sep).

As can be seen above, articles described free movement as a mutually beneficial right that was administered according to principles of solidarity. To a large extent this reflects what I argued in

chapter two was the nature of the EU discourse. As such it could bear out arguments related to the creation of support for integration through the satisfaction of mutual interest. Unlike in the other two countries, the right of free movement is viewed, not only as a benefit, but also as something on which there are seen to be unproblematic limits, which apply equally to all members of the market. This places integrative actions on the positive side of the issue-conflict in terms of '*How*' free movement occurs.

The continued presence of identity in influencing perceptions of actions for the in-group

Articles of above type do seem to provide evidence for more transactionalist accountings of identity formation through integration. However, even leaving aside the Polish and British narratives for the moment, when other articles in the Spanish corpus are more thoroughly investigated, it turns out that the theories of interest-based patriotism are not completely supported. This relates to arguments made regarding the contestability of conceptions of what it is to 'be Spanish' (see Chapter 4). As I argue, the more permeable nature of this national identity allowed the EU discourse to be taken up as credible. Yet, in others its presence remains discernible: popular news reporting portrayed members of the national in-group in a self-evidently more positive light. Even above, the end of the Romanian and Bulgarian adjustment period remained considered as possibly deviant enough to be produced as temporal context for integration ('*When*'; Textbox: 16).

In this vein, conflict was sometimes elaborated as the EU was seen to have power to take action to resolve disputes between Member States. In instances in which Spain was involved as a conflicting party, the actions or decisions taken by the EU were discussed as a side of the conflict. However, whether these decisions were positioned as positive or negative depended on

those actions' conformity with the perceived overall interests of Spain. Actions that were not were perceived as automatically unfair in the popular press. Thus, issues were not discussed as occurring among a wider European context, in which the concerns of other Europeans are given equal legitimacy. This would be needed for the creation of a public sphere and a viable, European interest-based debate (Van Ham, 2001; Calhoun, 2005). Thus, even in instances in which EU actions were seen to work in favor of the perceived Spanish interest, this did not flow from a more rational attempt at evaluating cost and benefits for all parties. It came from the self-evident righteousness of the perceived Spanish interest or behavior. Although the EU discourse of solidarity in common interaction is not contested, it is not because this interest-based rationale is presented as non-deviant in reportage (Textbox 17):

Textbox 17: Positioning of actions related to portrayal of the Spanish 'in-group'

EU decision in Spanish favor self-evidently non-threatening:

"Gibraltar doesn't form a part of Schengen, that's why the border controls can take place, but they must be proportionate," said the community spokesperson Frédéric Vincent" (20 Minutos, 5 Aug).

EU decision not in Spanish favor regarded as self-evidently unfair threat:

Until now, the European Commission hasn't made a statement about the idea of charging a tax or toll of 50 Euros for crossing the border with Gibraltar, arguing that there existed no formal proposal on the part of Spain, however this Monday it has left it clear that a measure of this type would be "illegal", because it would contravene the norms of the European Union, according to what community spokesperson Olivier Bailly has explained in a press conference. Despite this, other community sources have hinted that it would be possible to place a toll on the highways that give access to the border, just as already occurs in other countries (20 Minutos, 19 Aug).⁷⁹

National in-group self-evidently positive for actions accommodating integration:

"Many years ago, France established specific zones for the peoples of the highway next to the cities and this facilitated the expansion of the settlements in addition to its geographic proximity to

⁷⁹ In context, a punitive tax related to Spain's ongoing Gibraltar border dispute is implied to be no different than road tolls on highways that lead to borders in other EU countries. This characterization makes the Spanish actions seem reasonable in conflict with the deviant EU decision. The EU's repudiation -- in fact a uniform application of free movement rules -- is thus seen to be an unfair particularized action, which singles out the national in-group. Further, Spain does not regularly charge tolls on its highways.

Romania and Bulgaria. There was more conflict with the local population, which explains the most overwhelming reaction." In Spain, he [an institute expert] assures, "that which had happened is the action of the public services in order to channel the situation of this population. Mothers begging with children are no longer seen in the metro nor are bands of delinquent children" (20 Minutos, 2 Oct).

These articles place the national group on the positive side of the story, in a self-evident manner. This is not necessarily shocking in itself, given the positions of the media outlets that the articles come from, within the Spanish media environment. As to the manner in which this is the case, I argue that this portrayal still finds its root within the realm of national identity. The permeability of that identity to others seems to make it more willing to countenance the EU's actions in a positive light, as long as they are seen to work in the favor of the national in-group. Like with identity-based Polish and British narratives, Spanish press sought to portray the 'Spanish nation' as self-evidently positive and reasonable in its interests. In the nationalist press discourse of the country where the concept of 'the nation' remains contestable, the EU's actions and statements are taken up as a side of the conflict with regard to '*How*' integration occurred. As I have maintained, this could be related to domestic debates regarding the constitution of Spanish identity (Gillispie, 2015).

Unlike in the migrant sending and receiving countries, actions related to free movement were not portrayed as overwhelmingly negative. This is in keeping with other studies done regarding Spanish and other similar states regarding politicization of EU activities of integration (Risse, 2014; Statham and Trenz, 2014). However, as I have argued, this does not constitute a press discourse of pan-European common net-benefit, voiced in a common European discursive space. When not in favor of the national in-group, articles regarded EU acts to self-evidently clash with the perceived interests. As would be needed to confirm the interest-based accounts of

integration, the rationale behind EU decisions was not substantively explored. This was true whether it was considered to be on the positive or negative side of conflict. This is significant. As was shown in Chapter 2, rationale of solidarity in a single supranational market does entail some willingness to accept gross losses, while remaining net-beneficial to members. In instances in which the Spanish articles negatively regarded integrative acts, said actions were placed on the threatening side of the conflict in a self-evident manner. Thus, national identity conceptions as present in news do not reflect the creation of solidaristic ties with the supranational level. In Chapter 4, I suggested that Spain's position as having a 'mixed' relation to the single market could reflect support for interest-based accountings of integration. However, the costs and benefits of emigration versus immigration (the latter of which is hardly mentioned) do not seem to be reflected in what continues to be an identity-based press discourse. Thus, what, at times, looks to be a more net interest-based accounting when integrative actions worked positively for the national in-group, actually flows from national identity conceptions. Those conceptions may be more accepting of including EU acts as a side of the conflict, as long as it leads to the portrayal of the 'nation' in a unified, reasonable and positive manner.

Conclusion

This chapter has been mostly concerned with the manner in which the sides of popular press narrative are cemented, in terms of conflict over free movement. This entails both '*When*' a crisis-causing event is contextualized as occurring, and '*How*' actions related to it are seen to allay or exacerbate the crisis. Findings have shown that, in the migrant sending and receiving countries, a seemingly unified national identity clashed with the EU discourse of solidarity creation through the provision of net-benefit in integration; the one that is advanced by transactionalist or

utilitarian theories of identity creation. The EU's discourse was often not countenanced as a side of an issue, or was misrepresented. When the main crisis-issue related to migration itself, the EU was sometimes mentioned as temporally playing an often-threatening role ('*When*' and '*How*', respectively). But, its discourse was not taken up on either side of the conflict as a justification. This allowed it to be built into an almost folk devil-style villain -- especially in Britain. The character of the conflict in these two countries provides support for a central argument of this thesis: resistance against integration can be posited by national identity conceptions in public discourse as the morally correct stance to take as ongoing conflict is seen to continue.

In Spain, the context of integration ('*When*') and related EU actions ('*How*') were counted as a much more relevant side of the conflict. But, said discourse was seen to lack credibility when viewed against the contexts of continued barriers to movement and disintegrative actions of other Member States. Actions that were seen not to be in a unified Spanish interest were viewed as self-evidently 'wrong' or 'immoral'. Therefore, rather than be discussed in terms of reasonable fairness as arbitrated between legitimately competing European interests, the discourse/identity clash became apparent in Spain as well: The EU discourse and related actions were taken up. However, they ultimately ran up against resilient national-level solidarity ties that, as argued in Chapter 3, flow from state-based identity. Obviously, this does not bear out academic debates supportive of the role of common interest in creating patriotic affection. Further, as we will see in the final empirical chapter, the resilience of national identity in coloring interest perceptions of free movement could build, in popular press narrative, to suggest stances of Union-resistant moral panic to the readership. This is true more so in cases where national identity conceptions remain relatively uncontested and exclusive.

Seven: The Resolution

Introduction

Over the course of the preceding two chapters, the topics flagged as news ('*What*') and possibility of events related to free movement to be justified as signal crime-like crises ('*Why*') was addressed. Then, the manner in which the sides of narrative conflict became temporally cemented in non-elite press narrative ('*When*'), through the reporting of valenced actions ('*How*') was examined. Much evidence was derived to support that national identity-based interest perceptions were brought to clash with the EU transactionalist discourse. Again, this rationale argues that common reasonable net-benefits can lead to creation of patriotic affection to the level of the single market, through commonality of interests. In the popular press narratives of the migrant sending and receiving state, this does not seem to be the case. In Spain, however, the relatively increased tendency of popular press to take up the EU discourse as a positive side of the conflict, could point to the bearing out of what I have argued is the non-viable interest-based rationale behind it.

As we will see, as the CCR narrative format moves into its final stage -- resolution -- the discourse/identity clash remained apparent. EU integration was seen -- either directly or indirectly -- to bring about eventualities that held self-evidently negative consequences for members of the national in-group, in terms of perceptual biases conceived from national identity (Iyengar, 1991; Miller and Riechert, 2001). Thus, moral panic, through resistance to a folk devil-like EU or 'West', was suggested, especially in UK and Poland. This occurred through the

narration of a Europe of nation states as normatively positive, in terms of the spatial plane on which events were seen to occur ('*Where*') (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007; De Vreese, 2001). Additionally, popular news narrative focused on national actors as being the ones normally responsible for resolving threatening 'foreign' deviance ('*Who*') (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Kjaer and Langer, 2005). Through this, audiences were encouraged to adopt stances of demarcation if the non-present solution held as normatively positive by identity-based interest perceptions was to be brought about (Kriesi et al. 2006; 2008). The resolution narrative stages for the three case study countries can be found the below:

The Resolution narrative stage for articles related to free movement of persons:

Table 1: Poland

Resolution N = 62	
'Where'	Who
40	42
64.50%	67.70%
41	
66.10%	

Table 2: Britain

Resolution N = 106	
'Where'	Who
92	95
86.80%	89.60%
93.5	
88.20%	

Table 3: Spain

Resolution N = 58	
'Where'	Who
26	34
44.80%	58.60%
30 51.70%	

As can be seen from the above, the Spanish articles continued to be more prone to portraying the 'Where' and 'Who' storytelling components such that they took up the EU discourse. Integration was valenced as relatively more normatively positive in a greater number of instances. Yet, the continued non-credibility of the EU discourse, combined with popular press narrative's portrayal of members of the national out-group, show that identity continued to clash with the supranational interest-based rationale. The right of free movement ultimately failed to produce any deeper Europeanization of Spanish identity, beyond integration providing for instrumental opportunities that were seen to work for the national in-group (Coman and Crespy, 2014; Fligstein, 2009; Khun, 2015). Thus, even in cases in which the nature of national identity allows the EU transactionalist discourse to 'get out' in popular news narrative, the academic theories which said rationale reflects are not borne out (Bellamy, 2008; Kostadinova, 2013; Medrano, 2003; Risse, 2010). Interest in mobility is apparent; however affection to the single market was not induced (Cliff and Woll, 2012; Pickel, 2003; Rosamond, 2012). This supports the ideational framework that this thesis has advanced: Identity-based interest perceptions can foment resistance to EU integration (Christiansen, Jorgensen and Wiener, 1999; Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999; Marcussen et al., 1999). Popular press narrative reaches resolution with regard to the free movement of persons; national identity-based interest conceptions clashed with the EU rationale of common benefits in integration. With regard to this

dissertation's argument related to news narrative's inducement of moral panic, resistance to integration was suggested as the proper stance in the two states with more exclusive, unified conceptions of their identities (Cohen, 2002; Garland, 2008; Watson, 2009; Young, 2009; see Chapter 4).

An East united in oppression: 'Where' free movement occurred in the Polish press.

As we have seen in the previous section, as the sides of the conflict were cemented in Polish popular news narrative related to the free movement of persons, the EU or its discourse was not often taken up, or accurately reflected. Obviously, this means that said discourse could not be pointed to as either a normatively positive or negative rationale for resolution in terms of 'Where' an event occurred or should occur. Yet, paradoxically, 64.5% of articles related to integration negatively in terms of where the process occurred (Table 1). This was the second highest of all of the five 5 W's and one H storytelling components for the migrant sending state (see Table 3 in Chapter 4). Often, this was because, stories mentioned the EU as a vague spatial backdrop, within which the perceived continued under-developed status of Poland stood to be worthy of moral panic. Instead of a common space of movement being presented as an opportunity offered to Poles, movement to the West, in light of Poland's continued 'deviant' development levels, was regarded as an often-bilateral symptom of the continued problem. Thus, in popular press narrative, the EU discourse of common reasonable net-benefit in movement clashed with national identity conceptions. It continued to be considered irrelevant, while national resistance, in terms of national barrier retrenchment against the supposed designs of powerful western Member States was suggested as the normatively positive resolution-position for the reader to adopt if threatening deviance was to be resolved. Again, given the tenor of popular Polish press

narrative thus far, the portrayal of EU integration as occurring in a Europe of nation states may not be surprising, in and of itself. However, what is important here is the manner in which this narrative can stand to suggest resistance to further integration as part of a moral panic, over treatment of the national in-group by the West. The ongoing lack of resolution, was a continuation of the threatening issue conflict.

Continued emigration from Poland as resolution in an amorphous European space

Interestingly, in articles 'Where' stories contextualized ongoing crisis-oriented conflict as occurring amid a supranational space, this was not seen to offer a solution to the current employment and development situation in the country. Additionally, the EU was not routinely reported on as being a common space for movement in the Polish popular press. This caused the disintegrative actions and development levels of non-EU members ('How'), to be indirectly conflated with the EU's single market, (Textbox 1):

Textbox 1: The EU and Europe as contributing spaces for movement and undevelopment

The EU as the space in which emigration and undevelopment continue:

[Poles] earn scandalously little in comparison with citizens of other countries of the European Union.... there are in Poland whole localities, in which in each house, someone has someone in the West. Why? Because performing the same job, having the same qualifications, they earn in Berlin, Dublin or London much more, than if they were working in Poland (Fakt, 5 Sep).

Threatening resolution of continued undevelopment regularly conflates EU and 'Europe'.

However, aspiring to be one of the most important states in Europe we would prefer to have our wages be comparable to the Germans or the Swiss, not an Asian island state (Fakt 17, Sept).

The right of movement viewed as bi-lateral; possibly resulting in a threat of emigration:

"Shortly after the opening of the British job market in 2004, men most often went to the Islands - after getting established - in phases they brought their Polish wives and children. Now they are

beginning to bring their parents of **retirement** age." Says in an interview for gazetaprawna.pl Elżbieta Ślebzak, director of the firm Polish Matters Consulting (Fakt, 28 Oct).⁸⁰

Instead of providing a positive resolution to the conflict, the vague way in which the EU is mentioned, once viewed through identity-based interest conceptions, makes it seem to be a symptom of the development-related crisis-issue within Poland. As such, free movement is not viewed as an opportunity provided to Poles that stands to resolve the threat. Instead, it is portrayed as accentuating it. As such, this discourse assigns blame to a vaguely Western/'European' integration process. Not only does this prevent EU free movement from being discussed in terms of reasonably expectable common interests. It nebulously also suggests that Poland's apparent development goals related to joining the EU are not being met within its position in 'Europe' ('Where'). This finding stands against the interest-based theoretical rationales for the creation of affection to the EU. Further, the narrative framing assigns blame to Europe, for resolution as a continuation of the deviant threat. Thus, it could suggest panic over Poland's continued development level, in light of movement in a vague space of European integration.

The single market as place of ongoing unchallenged threats to movement rights

Even in articles that viewed having a united supranational space as a normatively positive resolution ('Where'), popular Polish press narrative suggested that such an eventuality was not coming to pass; perhaps intentionally on the part of the EU. Articles that made use of this line of reasoning mainly pertained to the issue-narrative of moving abroad being risky and the disintegrative actions of the UK. As below, a Metro article's interview with an institute

⁸⁰ This should not be considered implicit praise for opportunities provided by free movement. Instead, the article concerns emigration in context of the apparent living standards in the country; its title is "Poland is Being Deserted!"

representative places the space of a united EU in a positive light. But, it then paints the rights that Poles do have in that space as under threat by the UK's conflict with it.

"Do you agree with his [Cameron's] definition of the community of the European Union: Since we have freedom, today the first goal of the EU is no longer the assurance of peace, but wellbeing?"

"The assumption that peace is a given in Europe once and for all concerns me. History shows what that certainness can bring. I do agree, despite this, that the assurance of Europeans' wellbeing is important. It's only that, once again, I don't share David Cameron's idea about how to achieve this. The British prime minister wants free trade between EU countries, but he doesn't like that the EU institutions take part in this...That, which he is proposing, is thus the partial dismantling of the EU." (Metro, 24 Jan).

National identity clashes with any EU discourse regarding fair exercise of rights in a common space for movement. Instead of being seen to work or speak out against UK's actions (*'How'*), it is largely absent. Even in the popular Polish press discourse, journalistic practice involves giving both 'sides' of a valenced narrative (Johnson-Cartee, 2005; Lauk, 2008; Neuman, 1992). Clearly, the EU's position regarding attempts to change or disintegrate the Union is relevant. However, that position is not counted as a relevant part of conflict. As we have seen in the previous chapter, it would appear that national identity conceptions often prevent the EU's position from getting out as a side of the story. With regard to *'Where'* threats to the rights of Poles abroad are seen to continue, in terms of resolution, this causes the space of movement rights to be seen as one that is intended to be characterized by insecurity. Instead of a beneficial right, free movement is seen only to increase the uncertain status of Poles' abroad. Resistance against further integration is thus posited, in this press narrative, if this is the nature of the benefit that identity-based interest conceptions perceive from free movement. The result is far from the engenderment of solidarity, as argued for by transactionalist theories of integration. Instead, national identity conceptions clashed with the EU discourse of common net-benefits, preventing it from getting out. This trend was already apparent in the earlier narrative stages of crisis and

conflict. However, what is important with regard to 'Where' movement occurred in popular press narrative is that the character of EU's single market was not positioned as standing to assuage deviance in resolution. Instead, what is apparent is the intensification of threat.

The role of pre-existing identity conception in according interest to other national groups

To the extent that any form of affective solidarity was extended to other national groupings within the space of the single market, the Polish popular press appeared to continue to accord it to those considered to have closer cultural or historical ties with Poland (Neumann, 1993; Prizel, 1998). However, as we have seen, the transactionalist EU discourse maintains affection to the single market should develop through interaction with the national groups of the Member States to which Poles migrated most often (Recchi, 2015). This was clearly demonstrated in the articles that related to the accession of Croatia. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the entry of Croatia into the EU was regarded largely as on the non-negative side of conflict. However, this was not because the EU discourse of solidarity through common competition in a single market was seen to win out. Accordingly, the accession of Croatia was seen to result in a space where 'like-minded' national groupings in the east needed to stick together in order to guard against, what were portrayed as self-evidently threatening actions by the EU institutions and western powers.^{81 82} Concurrently, the future possibility of the single

⁸¹ As a reminder, see frame 1.2 in Table 1 of Chapter 5, regarding the Polish popular press's framing of the topic of EU funding as rightful development aid.

⁸² Again, given the Polish popular press's framing of Croatia's accession, it may seem contradictory that the same press would concurrently relate to stories about the end of the EU-2's adjustment period in a negative manner. This may be due to the fact that the end of Romania's and Bulgaria's adjustment period was mentioned in direct context of UK attempts to curtail benefits to Poles. Additionally, Poland has a longer historical relationship with Croatia/Yugoslavia that goes back to the times before the fall of the Iron Curtain.

market as coming to include more Balkan CEE Members was viewed in a welcome manner

(Textbox 2):

Textbox 2: The single market as a space 'Where' in-group collaborates with similar groupings

Expansion of the single market allows for alliance of Poland with similar members:

Partnership is blooming, because already in July, Croatia will become the 28th state of the European Union. And from us the Croatians want to learn how to conduct themselves in the realities of the community. Already now, experts of the Ministry of Regional Development are teaching the Croatian administration, among other things, how to manage with the Union funds.
(Metro, 23 May).

Future expansions of the Single Market viewed as a positive future outcome:

In the Balkans in line for the EU still stand, among others, the Serbs, the Macedonians, the Albanians. Closest to the Union, at this instant, is Montenegro. But, as experts judge, the next enlargement of the EU and acceptance of the next Balkan country will be possible at the earliest in 2020. (Fakt 1, Jul).

Croatia's accession to and future eastern expansion of the common space of the EU were regarded as a normatively positive issue resolutions. However, this is because it allows 'similar' national groupings to work together, while not seen to be competing outright with Poles in the single market. As I have argued, the interest-based rationales for EU integration call for affection to the single market as space where solidarity normatively exists between all of the members of a common market. However, this is not the positive spatial outcome contended by the Polish popular press discourse. Again, this finding may not be surprising, given that this study has focused on tabloid-style media. However, the benefit perceived as an issue-resolution of integration of the single market, by this discourse, does not reflect the EU's. This suggests that national identity conceptions continue to influence the accordances of solidarities, and thus, interests, as this thesis has argued.

In contravention of interest-based rationales of affection to the common market, Polish popular press discourse did not perceive benefit from having access to a common European space for movement. Instead, the EU or Europe was portrayed as a vaguely 'Western' realm, in which 'resolution' often occurs as an enunciation of continued threat ('*Where*'). As the final narrative stage takes shape, this provides further evidence for the framework advanced by this thesis, and critiques some Polish studies of identity and the conception of 'Europe' (Bartmiński and Chlebda, 2013; Ostrowska, 2016). Especially in popular press narrative, national identity conceptions influence interest perceptions so as to prevent perception of possible benefit in mobility rights. These conceptions clash with the EU discourse that I have argued reflects interest-based academic theories of European identity formation. Further, the relevant crisis-causing issues for the national in-group are seen to go unsolved in this press discourse. This stands to suggest moral panic regarding further integration to the readership in some cases: the desired resolution was implied to be unachievable, in this discourse, unless 'the nation' and 'similar' groupings take action to resist continued threat enabled by a vague, common space of 'Europe'.

On a continent of deviant unity: '*Where*' free movement occurred in the UK press.

The spatial plane, on which the main issue narratives related to free movement developed in the examined British popular press, related negatively to integration in roughly 86% of stories.

Besides the '*What*,' this made it the second-most strongly related to integration, in terms of its constituting negative deviance, after the '*Who*' (Table 2). As would be expected if perceived interests flow from the continued primacy of resilient national identity, '*Where*' free movement of persons took place was seen to be occurring such that it placed the national in-group in a

plausibly positive or altruistic light. The negative sides of the main issue conflicts, namely the arrival of large numbers of migrants, migrant crime and benefits tourism (see Chapter 6), were situated as occurring in a common space of open borders. However, the EU's discourse clashed with national identity-based interest perceptions, such that the latter was not taken up as working toward positive resolution. In this press discourse, it was precisely the internal openness of 'Europe' that was seen as leading to the continuance of negatively deviant events across those issues. State-barrier retrenchment was posed as the reasonable solution-stance, if deviance was to be resolved in the narration of reality provided by this press narrative.

Further, the EU -- already made into a faceless, threatening force in its own right as conflict was established -- was shown to be the enforcing factor behind its deviantly common space of movement. Again, it may be unsurprising that the examined press reports on the EU, and movement within it, in this manner. However, as argued by this thesis, the implications of this reportage, as part of a larger narrative, say much about the role of national identity conceptions in suggesting moral panic over integration within a mass mediated public sphere. In terms of 'Where' free movement occurred, panic was suggested against free movement in a common Europe. As I maintain, this could build (and, indeed, may have been built), not only as resistance to that right, but to EU membership in general. Finally, in this context, it is worthy to point out that articles that did not relate to the free movement of persons, often wrote of the single market as a space, 'Where' the UK could leave easily without many negative consequences. Even before the 'Brexit' campaign began officially, leaving the EU was thus reinforced as the 'proper' solution for the nation-state by British national identity conceptions.

'Where' free movement occurs in the UK's interest: A lack of European affection

In the small minority of news articles that related to '*Where*' free movement occurred in a positive, or at least neutral manner, most did not address the issue of EU migration. Instead, they mentioned instances where the EU worked in the perceived British interest exclusively. The EU was seen to enforce the Union as a space of common movement rights; this was viewed positively for its possibility to coincide instrumentally with the UK's position:

In a strongly-worded attack, the PM blasted the Spanish for leaving hundreds of people facing five-hour delays and called the [Gibraltar] border checks "politically motivated" and "contrary to the EU right of free movement." A spokesman for Number 10 said: "President Barroso responded that the European Commission are closely monitoring the situation and that, following a thorough legal assessment, would not hesitate to take any measures necessary to uphold EU law." (The Sun, 17 Aug.)

While EU rights are explicitly written of here as creating a common space for movement, this is not because that fact is viewed as a normalized, or normatively good thing. Instead, free movement amounts to little more than instrumentally coincident with the ends of the perceived British interest. While this could be said to support the interest-based accountings of European integration, I maintain that this is not the case. Instead of painting Spanish actions as legitimate confrontation occurring within that space, with another member with whom there is basis for an affective solidarity through broader common interest in the single market, Spanish actions are valenced as self-evidently deviant. Little investigation is given into their actual nature. As this dissertation has maintained, that would be necessary for the viability of transactionalist theories of integration, regardless of why the tabloid-style press reports in the way that it does (see Chapter 4). Thus, while the space of the single market was not marked as deviant in these instances ('*Where*'), and was seen to work for an outcome favorable to the national in-group, the examined press discourse does not reflect any deeper Europeanization of identity. Instead, a *lack*

of common general interest between national member groups is apparent, while common benefit is not.

The EU's single space for movement as facilitating the non-resolution of mass-migration

As alluded to above, the vast majority of examined British press articles portrayed integration as occurring in a common market for persons. However, it was precisely this lack of borders that was considered to be deviant, or allow for the offending signal crimes to occur continually in terms of event-crisis (Cricher, 2003; Young, 2009). This narrative was used across the three main movement-related issues, seen to be evident in the previous two narrative stages of 'Crisis' and 'Conflict': The nebulous amount of 'inferior' non-Brits arriving in the UK; and the uniform portrayal of EU migrants as benefits tourists, and/or criminals. As will be shown, in some cases, news articles sought to not only portray the single market for persons as negatively deviant; they also paint the national in-group in a positive, identity-based manner, through its standing for the championing of national demarcation as 'humane' or 'altruistic,' for the sake of a 'normal' Europe composed of disparate nation-states (Ichijo, 2003; Katzenstein, 1997). Given the press that this thesis examines, that popular media discourse would address the in-group and defined national borders in this way is at least somewhat to be expected. However, it also provides further support for the contention that national identity conceptions influence the perception of interest such that the EU integrative rationale of common net-benefit in integration does not get out within this public discourse.

Regarding the narrative of the threat of 'mass migration' to the UK, articles implied that resistance against Europe as a common space of movement was not only the proper issue-stance for resolution of deviance ('Where'), but that doing so also places the national in-group in an altruistically positive position by opting for barrier retrenchment in the face of an apparently

senseless integration process ('Who'). Yet, they provide little evidence that consequences claimed to be resultant of free movement are real or significant (Textbox 3):

Textbox 3: EU space for movement forestalls 'positive' resolution of deviant immigration

Widening of Common space of 'Europe' allows for continued threat of immigration:

The Schengen accord allows participating nations to allow its citizens to pass borders without having to show a passport. 26 nations participate, though Britain has always opted out of it due to security concerns. If Romania and Bulgaria did join Schengen, their citizens would still need a passport to enter Britain, but immigrants would be able to pass through Eastern Europe to countries such as France or the Netherlands, making it much easier to smuggle themselves into the UK (Daily Mail, 4 Mar).⁸³

Disintegration from supranational space posited as proper resolution; deviance is not resolved:

Mrs. May [the then Home Secretary] added: "That [EU migration] not only puts pressure on communities in countries like Britain, it robs poorer EU member states of their most talented people. So in future, we must put in place new arrangements to slow full access to each other's labour markets until we can be sure it will not lead to mass migration" (Daily Mail, 28 Nov).

Such claims could be interpreted as evidence for calls for a sort of European solidarity -- albeit against single market integration. However, this is not the case. Instead, this justification against integration takes in no analysis of 'actual' interests in treating the single market as a common space. Further, as would be necessary for the evidence of a European solidarity, the wishes of other EU national groupings are not taken into account (Nicolaidis, 2007). Instead, the supposed effects of movement on other European national groupings merely serves as a rationale that serves to continue building the EU into a faceless 'villain', whose motives or actions are seen to be suspect as best. Resistance to treating the EU as a common space for movement is thus held positive as the 'reasonable' resolution, according to national-identity conceptions. This supports

⁸³ In actuality, as EU members, Romanian and Bulgarian citizens can enter the UK or the Schengen area simply with their national ID cards. This largely obviates a lack of need for them to try and 'smuggle' themselves into the UK. Nor, would the EU-2's implementation of Schengen make doing so much easier, as the UK does not participate.

the argument made in Chapter 3 regarding the possibility of popular press discourse to foment moral panic over integration in light of the right of free movement of persons (De Vreese, 2001; Huxford, 2007).

The EU's single space for movement as a continued facilitator of migrant crime

In news stories related to events of migrant crime, Europe was again portrayed as a single space in which free movement was allowed to occur ('Where'). However, this fact was held as self-evidently threatening. The EU discourse of common interest in interaction in the single market remains un-countenanced in this press discourse, evidencing a clash between it and barriers emplaced by national identity conception as theorized in this dissertation. Contrarily, a demarcation-oriented issue-stance is suggested if the apparent deviance is to be resolved:

Local councilor Nickie Aiken said yesterday: "This is a Europewide issue that is causing real problems on the streets of Westminster and, if not tackled at an EU level, will only get worse. While we do not want to stop the free movement of law-abiding people across the EU, we do want to stop those repeatedly returning to our corner of the EU, indulging in anti-social behaviour and leaving our residents with a huge bill." (The Sun, 12 Oct).

The measures resulting from integration are seen to exacerbate the continued threat. Thus, not only was British resistance to integration suggested as the proper resolution stance, but also support for dis-integration in general. The idea of an internally borderless Europe was seen to be deviant in that it was situated as accessory to allowing incidents of migrant crime to occur. At the same time, the EU discourse of fair net-benefit in interaction, regarding such instances, was absent, evidencing continued existence of the discourse/identity clash as this issue-narrative moved toward (non)resolution. Further, the EU's apparent lack of response makes it appear as if nothing is being done, or that the supranational level does not regard these criminal events as problematic. This narrative framing provides further support of my argument regarding the

tendency of national identity-based interest perception, as taken up in popular news, to suggest stances of moral panic to their audience.

The EU's single space for movement, benefits tourism and resistance to EU integration

The situation of the idea of an internally 'borderless' Europe as standing to exacerbate the continuance of negatively deviant conflict was relatively more apparent in articles related to the issue of EU migrants as benefits tourists. Over time, the perceived continuance of this situation caused negative sentiment regarding the single market to become more pronounced. The EU was seen to stand in the way of allowing plausibly positive British boundary retention to go through (Textbox 4):

Textbox 4: The EU as a single space for movement foments resistance in light of benefits tourism

Free movement in single market portrayed as a right; but currently allows for benefits tourism:

"One of the key reasons of being a member of the European Union are what are called 'the key freedoms' – the movement of services, the movement of goods, and the movement of people," he [David Cameron] said. "Now, there are restrictions already on the movement of people if you have, for instance, an emergency. Should we look at arguments about if it should be harder for people to come and live in Britain and claim benefits? Yes, frankly we should." (Daily Mail, 7 Jan).

Widening of the single market provides self-evidence of continuance of deviant threat:

Borderless Britain has sleepwalked its way to cataclysmic change and those 29 million Romanians and Bulgarians who are free to come here exactly one month from today are proving to be one almighty wake-up call. Rubbing the sleep from his eyes, David Cameron suggests removing EU dossiers and forbidding them from coming back to the UK for 12 months. But why let them back after a year? Why let them return at all? Wouldn't it be far better all round — cheaper for us and more humane for the EU dossiers — not to let them in in the first place (The Sun, 1 Dec, opinion piece)?

Resolution stance posited for resolution of continued conflict is disintegration from EU:

Mr. Cameron is rushing through curbs on migrants claiming benefit here for three months. But 70 Tories want restrictions on workers from Romania and Bulgaria to be extended until the end of 2018. Rebel Philip Davies told the Commons: "The only way to get control of our borders back is to leave the EU" (The Sun, Dec 19).

Above, the single market is situated as being negatively deviant for being a place that is 'too open' and thus allowing for the threatening issue-crisis of benefits tourism to occur. Barrier re-entrenchment is thus stood in both a self-evidently reasonable and normatively positive stance if the 'normalcy' of national borders is to be restored, within this press narrative. The EU discourse of common benefits in the single market is not discussed. Instead, its lack of presence reflects that identity-based interest perceptions lead to a narration of national boundary re-entrenchment being suggested as the solution to what is perceived to be the uniform deviance of interactions in the space of the single market ('Where').

Once again, the characterization of the national in-group as supporting barrier retrenchment places them in a positive, reasonable light. Little investigation is given into the consequences of EU migration. As I have argued, this would be the case if some affective solidarity was accorded them as a result of free movement; this would be expected by interest-based rationales of integration, which are reflected in the EU's supranational discourse. Instead, national identity conception portrays resisting the EU's creation of 'Europe' as a common market or space as not in the perceived possible interest of all of the disparate groups that comprise it. Due to the role of national identity-based interest perceptions, national barrier retrenchment, on the level of the in-group's nation-state, is suggested in this press narrative. The Union's motives appear to become self-evidently questionable.

The EU's single movement space and benefit to UK: The EU discourse contravened?

As a final coda to 'Where' free movement was seen to occur in the examined British popular press discourse -- and eventually looking forward to the eventual outcome of the 'Brexit'

vote -- it is important to note the narratives of some articles that did not relate to the free movement of persons in some way.⁸⁴ This is because, instead of viewing the single market more generally as being a direct benefit to the UK, the national identity conceptions that I have argued are present in popular press discourse, suggested that its importance was minimal. This was often done by claiming that an exclusively trade-based relationship with the EU would be easily attainable. However, such a portrayal does not constitute a contention that EU integration and free movement were not, in fact, in the UK's net benefit. This would be the case if interests were prime in having the potential to create supranational affection at the level of the single market (McLaren, 2006). In some cases, articles contained glaring factual errors, despite the seeming plausibility of the claims they were a part of, due to identity-based interest perceptions (Textbox 5):

Textbox 5: Contentions regarding the consequences of leaving single market for the UK

The EU implied to be an exclusively trade-based organization when the UK joined (incorrect):

Former defence secretary Liam Fox said "Britain should be aiming to return to a 'basic economic relationship' with Brussels, which people backed in a referendum in 1975... I would like to see us with a basic economic relationship, and I think, yes, I think that people in Britain voted in the 1975 referendum for a Common Market, and that's what we expected to be delivered" (Daily Mail, 20 Jan).⁸⁵

Free movement, EU and trade with 'Europe' implied to be separate things (incorrect) :

Now that the UK is resisting the EU has no choice but to take them [its demands] seriously. Yes, our trade matters to the whole EU, and is in any case covered by the European Economic Area agreement (separate from the Treaty of Rome and its bastard descendants). Apart from which, difficult as our economic position may be these days, it is even worse for most EU countries

⁸⁴ The 'inflationary' spiral of stances suggested regarding benefits tourism above, from a crisis-causing issue that suggested taking action regarding access to benefits into leaving the EU, may be in some way connected with the post-'Brexit' vote tendency of Euro-resistant discourses to champion not only 'Brexit' but also a 'hard' form of it.

⁸⁵ The implied contention that that the EEC was more like a free trade zone when the UK voted to join it in the 1970's is misleading. Free movement of persons was already provided for in the Treaties when the UK joined.

where the euro constantly threatens to unravel dramatically. And politically? Ah, that's where our exit threat provides true leverage. If we were to leave the Union, the grandest scheme of them all, the project for a United States of Europe collapses. It would go down in history as a spectacular flop, a grand alliance shorn of democratic endorsement or political foresight (Daily Mail, 29 Jan, opinion piece).⁸⁶

Thus, with regard to *'Where'* EU integration was news in stories in which the free movement of persons was not addressed, the EU's single market was portrayed as a space which could be easily left, or at least devolved from, without great negative consequences for UK. At the same time the importance of the national in-group to the EU was viewed as veritably indispensable to the EU project, in a non-evidenced manner; this argumentative claim for its validity may flow from the nature of nationalist-British identity conception (Gifford, 2014; Haseler, 1996).

When the free movement of persons viewed in conjunction with the EU as a spatial landscape, in which the free movement of persons occurred (*'Where'*), further evidence is provided in support of this dissertation's main argument regarding the discourse/identity clash and the creation of moral panic in popular news narrative: The shared space of the single market is viewed as deviant for allowing signal crime-like events to occur continually in the examined press, rather than as a space for beneficial interactions, as expected by the EU transactionalist discourse. Once viewed through the lens of identity-based interest perception in popular news, other benefits of integration, such as trade advantages, were not viewed as standing to adversely affect the British should they choose to leave. Thus, the proper moral stance implied by the articles -- barrier re-entrenchment through departure from the EU -- was plausibly seen to be required to resolve the panic-worthy deviance of the free movement of persons. The fact that the

⁸⁶ The claim that the UK's trade terms would be provided for automatically under EEA agreements is incorrect.

examined pressed discourse continues to report in this manner, not only provides further evidence of discourse/identity clash formation. It also shows how resiliently exclusive national conceptions of identity can influence interest perceptions so as to possibly lead to resistance against EU integration.

Towards unity in discord: 'Where' free movement occurred in the Spanish press

As has been argued in the previous chapter, as conflict was elaborated in the Iberian state, the increased permeability of Spanish national identity may have been what caused the EU discourse of solidarity in common, reasonable net-benefit in single market integration to be taken up more often as a side of the story ('When' and 'How'). In terms of beginning to suggest the 'proper' resolution on the part of the audience of this popular press discourse, articles often suggested that the space of the common market stood to assuage negatively valenced deviance caused by continued barriers to employment or regionalist ambitions within Spain. As such, the normative spatial plane implied by EU discourse was present at many times, in terms of 'Where' events were seen to occur (Kostadinova, 2013). However, the 'Where' storytelling component continued to relate negatively to integration in almost 45% of cases that touched upon free movement (Table 3). Yet, I argue that this does not bear out the viability of transactionalist or utilitarian theories of creation of affection to the space of the single market, which the EU discourse reflects. As will be shown instead, common supranational unity was often viewed as normatively good. Yet, the national identity conceptions reflected in many articles of the Spanish popular press narrated the integration process as not succeeding in the provision of it, or successfully winning out over regionalist ambitions as these issues moved toward (non)resolution. The EU's continued partial inability to provide a space characterized by 'successful' implementation of the single market was viewed as negatively deviant.

Conversely, articles related positively to integration when barriers to integration were seen to be removed and national unity encouraged. Again, could be regarded as support for rationales according to which common interests in movement lead to the creation of a European identity over time (Recchi, 2015). Still, especially given the character of the popular press discourses of the other two examined countries, what may be the case is that the barriers of Spanish national identity allowed the EU discourse to get out, and to be perceived as positive in popular press discourse more often. It stood to assuage panic-worthy deviance caused by demarcation-ist ambitions within the country. This is very much unlike the Polish or the UK cases, *'Where'* the right of free movement of persons related negatively to the EU integration process as a whole and contributed to the suggestion of moral panic over issues related to it, in clear support of this dissertation's main arguments. As will be maintained, in the Spanish national popular press, EU integration could not be seen to be deviant in itself. Such a narrative argument would clash with an EU-related discourse regarding the construction of Spain as a national unit of Europe (*'Where'*).

'Europe' as a space 'Where' integration costs the national in-group

In cases where articles related negatively to integration in terms of *'Where'* deviant events occurred, it should be noted that a small minority of articles in this press discourse related to the single market as having a deleterious effect for members of the national in-group. This occurred in an outright identity-based manner. Usually, these related to the single market as a space in which actions taken as a part of an ongoing issue-conflict could result in loss for Spain as the resolution. It is obvious that the integration process will entail some gross loss for those that are a part of it (Fligstein, Polyakova, and Sandholtz, 2012, Maas, 2005). In a vacuum, these events would be perceived negatively in terms of interests, though larger overall benefit may be

extant. Indeed, viewed through the lens of identity conception, as present in popular reporting, stories de-contextualized the space of the common market, showing it only to have caused the crisis-event, while not also having other positive benefits. This caused the borderless space created by rules of free movement to appear as having only contributed to negatively deviant event resolution, for its effect on members of the national in-group:

Eldon España SA "has presented a record of employment regulation (ERE) of extinctive character for 74 of the more than 90 workers that compose the staff of the factory in Martos (Jaén), whose production is intended to be "transferred" to the plant that the company has in Romania. "It will only affect the center that Eldon group has in Spain, as this company is composed of a group of companies with three work centers located in Europe (England, Romania and Spain)," they have explained. (20 Minutos, 4 Feb.)

It is difficult to argue with the fact that the events in question were not in the interest of the individuals or sectors that were seen to 'lose' from actions ('*How*') resulting from the creation of the single market as a common competitive space ('*Where*'). However, no benefits are apparent. We should not necessarily expect the popular press to report events in this manner (Jager and Maier, 2009). Yet, through promoting a discourse of common net-benefit, this is precisely what the interest-based EU discourse implicitly expects (Bellamy, 2008; Bijsmans and Altides, 2007; Kaiser, 2015). The fact that such events are taken up in this press discourse demonstrates that national identity conceptions still remain prime so as to clash with the EU discourse; these actions ('*How*') are held as negatively deviant for the transgression of a national barrier ('*Where*').⁸⁷

The EU discourse: Promoting Spain as a unified national space

⁸⁷ For instance it is less likely that a national news source would regard a company relocating jobs within the nation state as deviant enough to be reported on as news; such stories would be more likely to regard this development in terms of the spatiality of normalized economic competitiveness within the country.

Indeed, as we have seen, the national popular press discourse conceived of Spain normatively as one united national space. It held said conception to be in a positive light. Thus, whether implicitly or explicitly, the EU discourse was more often valenced in a positive or neutral manner, in terms of 'Where' events were seen to occur in Spain's popular press discourse. As I argue, this was because of the contested spatiality of Spain as a united whole within a larger community. However, the EU discourse of Europe -- and thus Spain -- as a common space for movement sometimes was seen not to win out as issues regarding secessionist ambitions moved toward threatening resolution (Textbox 6):

Textbox 6: Single market as continued anemic opposition to Spanish regionalism

Spain as a unified national space continually threatened by regional agitation:

At the moment, its even understandable that who governs the nation, can't do much against this [regionalist Spanish protests], because in our country the rule reigns that the more rationality is intended, larger is the opposition of prevailing and unenlightened localism. At the moment, there remains nothing other, than what there always has been: to be intellectual and suffer or join with localism and benefit [politically] (La Razón, 25 May).

The EU discourse of 'Europe' as a common space reinforces Spanish unity:

And this is in effect the [EU's] message: Europe teaches us to make Spain; to be Europeans is to be Spaniards; each State looks for unity inside of its borders. We take note that this is that which is Europe. (La Razón, 26 July).

EU discourse not successful in maintaining unity/secession remains a threat:

The report made on the part of Mas's propaganda apparatus has been, however, effective. According to a poll that La Razón publishes today, the majority of citizens (50.2%) believe that Catalonia would not be excluded from the EU, in case of gaining independence. Obviously, a lie repeated a thousand times can become an illusion, but not always a certainty that this is the case.

Europe has demonstrated on various occasions over the past weeks: Catalonia, like any other separated territory, would remain outside of the EU (La Razón, 29 Sep, opinion piece).⁸⁸

⁸⁸ The implication made, that Catalonia would necessarily remain outside of the EU permanently, is disingenuous. Any newly independent state that seceded from an EU member would merely need to apply to accession process like any current non-member.

Above, it was not the space of the single market that was termed as deviant. Instead, it was the fact that access to it was sometimes not seen to be sufficient to resolving the threat posed by sub-state demarcation. Thus, instead of an 'us' versus 'them' dynamic between a unified nation-state and its outside, as occurred in Poland and Britain, Spain's dynamic occurred along the lines of domestic debates regarding views on Spanish nationalism (Alonso and Kaltwasser, 2015; Guibernau, 2006). As other studies of Spanish framings of Europe have demonstrated, the barriers of the nation-state remained somewhat more fluid (Medrano, 2003). Yet, the EU discourse regarding movement in a common space (*'Where'*) is portrayed as insufficient to bringing about what nationalist identity-based interest perceptions hold to be the normatively positive resolution: Namely the quelling of further sub-national divisions within the state. Whether implicitly or explicitly, the EU discourse is taken up. However, this does not evidence support of interest-based rationales regarding creation of support for integration, which I argue against in this thesis. Instead, national identity-conceptions remain prime in influencing the construction of interest perceptions. The supranational discourse of the EU as a common space becomes subsumed as an argumentative resource in a larger debate over the nature of national identity itself in Spain, especially in context of the legacy of the Franco regime (Aguilar and Humlebaek, 2002). Ironically, within this issue narrative, this sometimes results in integration being viewed negatively: not only because of the spatial factor, but also because it is positioned as not enough to forestall what is conceived to be the self-evidently negative outcome by the nationalist identity conceptions present in this press discourse. Further, the EU discourse regarding the single market as a common space for movement clashes with national identity such that it is not reflected in a completely accurate manner.

The EU single market as an imperfect space for movement

News stories in this press discourse that dealt more directly with the integration of the single market viewed the process in a negative manner in some cases. Yet, unlike in Poland or Britain, this was not because national identity conceptions reflected in this discourse viewed the removal of nation-state level barriers to self-evidently conflict with perceived national interests. Instead, it was the continued existence of remaining barriers that caused the space of the single market to sometimes be characterized in a negative manner. Implicitly, this could seem to bear out the EU discourse of solidarity-worthy common net-benefit in the single market leading to popular affection to that space. The examined news stories sometimes narrated a lack of resolution to the issue-conflict. This often related to the issue narrative of language requirements and getting professional requirements being a barrier to movement: Thus the single market was seen to continue to be a space with access barriers for its members. In others, the EU's rationale of common benefit provision through creation of the market seemed to get out and was regarded positively in this press discourse (Textbox 7):

Textbox 7: Spatial resolution of issue narrative about barriers on access to employment abroad

EU measures take steps to make the single market a barrier-less space:

If these measures receive the favor of the twenty-seven and of the floor of the EP, they will put the Directive of Professional Classification in force, approved in 2007. "To assure the secure and simple mobility of professionals is a fundamental part of the re-launching of the single market. Important changes in current regulation, like the European professional card, represent a real added value for the EU," said the speaker of the report (La Razón, 23 Jan).

Despite this, 'common' space of the single market continually fraught with deviant barriers:

"The principal barrier of the European labor market is the barrier of the language," recently confirmed the German minister of work, Ursula von der Leyen (20 Minutos, 2 Jun).

The EU provides common benefit to 'Europeans' through integrating space of single market:

"By establishing a common framework of training and recognition of internships as professional

experiences will strongly improve the mobility and the security of the Europeans,” has pointed out the speaker of the opinion of the EU Parliament, Bernadette Vergnaud (20 Minutos, 10 Oct.)

The above is surprising, given this thesis's argument regarding the ability of national identity conceptions to make non-viable the EU transactionalist rationale for affective identity creation through common interest. It would appear that resolution related to the issue-narrative regarding barriers to supranational movement situated the single market as becoming a common space (*'Where'*) for a community of Europeans (*'Who'*) in a positive manner at times. It is possible that the resolution stance implied above may cause readers to opt to support further integration, due to an interest-based rationale. However, this was certainly not the case for the *'Where'* storytelling component in the examined press discourses of the other two case study countries; in them, moral panic over integration was suggested if the 'positive' outcome was to be obtained. Thus, as I argue, this still may not be considered as evidence for the viability of interest-based theories of integration. Instead, national identity remains prime in determining interest perception. It is the nature of Spanish identity that allows the EU discourse to be taken up and portrayed in this manner in some cases.

Indeed, as we saw in Chapter 6, the single market was posited as conflictual in this Spanish press discourse due to self-evidently unfair or unreasonable barriers such as language requirements. As can be seen above, the continuance of this situation remains present insofar as *'Where'* free movement was situated as taking place (Textbox 7). Thus, in these cases, it remains difficult to derive a sense of common interest, once viewed through the lens of identity conception. Little benefit is seen to be had, due to an identity-based perception that any such restrictions are 'unfair'. Therefore, in the instances in which the EU discourse got out, it may have been because the increased contestable permeability of Spanish identity allowed for the

possibility of common benefit in the single space of the EU market to be perceived, such that the EU discourse got past national identity-barriers in a broader segment of the public (Conti et al., 2012). For comparison, in Poland or UK, it has been argued that a more unified conception of national identity-related barriers often did not countenance the possibility of benefits flowing from the free movement of persons, or regarded issues related to it as self-evidently violating perceived interests, for their simple origination above the national level. As hypothesized in Chapter 4, it may be that in Spain, the nature of national identity allowed the EU discourse to be taken up as normatively positive due to that identity's weaker, more layered character in the first place.

Thus, when it came to suggesting proper resolution stances in terms of '*Where*' news related to free movement occurred in Spain, I have maintained above that national identity conceptions remained prime in constructing perceived interests. This is true even though a majority of the examined articles related neutrally or positively to free movement. Even in instances in which articles related negatively to integration in terms of '*Where*' it occurred, the integration process was perceived as not doing 'enough' to scathe off what the Spanish national identity -- as experienced through popular national press discourse -- held as the self-evident unresolved threat of panic-worthy regionalism. Still, the Europe-wide fairness of some barriers on access to restrictions for Spaniards was discussed only as having consequences for the national in-group. I argued in Chapter 3 that this valenced narrative framing, in terms of the space in which free movement occurs, was evidence of primacy of national identity in influencing interests. Therefore, instead of formation of patriotic affection to the single market through common interests in interaction, what is seen to be fomented by the integration process, in this press discourse, is that of nation building within Spain. Unlike in the two states where

national identity remained normatively un-contested in the popular press, the EU's discourse was allowed to achieve credibility more often in Spain. However, this may not indicate the increased viability of the interest based-based rationales for affective European identity creation. Instead, the EU's discourse was able to penetrate the examined discourse more often due to the more diffuse character of Spanish national identity.

The East, defenders against 'oppression': 'Who' was responsible for resolution in Poland

Insofar as '*Who*' was portrayed as normatively responsible for resolving (or worsening) negative deviance in Poland, national leaders or citizens were portrayed as to blame for the continuance of a lack of a resolution to issue-conflict. Most often, this regarded claims in the popular press that Poland remained underdeveloped, despite -- or even because of -- EU membership. Articles that addressed the free movement of persons related negatively to integration around 67% of the time (Table 1): The most of any of the storytelling components, besides the '*What*,' in the migrant sending state. In the minority of cases that related to integration in a neutral or positive manner, stories often referred to the convenience of travel in the Union, or related to the possibility of getting vacation jobs abroad (See Chapters 5 and 6). Yet, in the majority of cases, articles in this press discourse viewed resolution of conflict by national, rather than 'European' actors, to be held as of greater relevance. The negative suggestion regarding the stance a 'reasonably minded' reader should take with reference to integration was made, through not counting EU actors as playing a role in issue-resolution, even if it was related to threatening event-crises (Watson, 2009). Or, by pointing, in a mostly bilateral nature, to instances of continued deviant emigration, or unequal treatment of the national in-group, as evidence that threatening issues were not being resolved in what national identity conceptions considered to be the plausible, normatively

positive one of development within the nation-state (Rykiel, 2000; Wójcik, 2013). Thus, the argument advanced by Chapter 3 of this thesis, regarding the presence of national identity conceptions in popular press narrative to foment moral panic remains supported. Further, 'Who' was seen to be responsible for resolution -- or the forestallment of it -- clashed with the EU-based discourse by failing to take it up. The perceived interests of the national in-group were portrayed as continually not being served by that character of integration. This is far from solidarity creation through common, reasonably expectable net-benefit in movement, as expected by the interest-based transactionalist theories of integration, the viability of which I have argued against. Instead, moral panic over Poland's economic situation and the perceived exploitative treatment of the EU's eastern Members, was often suggested by the national identity conceptions as present in the analyzed press discourse.

Elite European 'movers' as being betrayers of the nation

In instances in which the EU was mentioned as possibly having a role to play in resolution ('Who'), exclusive national identity conceptions portrayed the EU level of governance as a threatening force outside of the nation-state, rather than a supranational level of governance in which Poland, as one of many Members, had a stake. For instance, the following article portrays then-Prime Minister Tusk's decision not to assume a leadership role of the EC as one of positive issue resolution. Yet, it continues to relate negatively to integration, as it suggests that a Polish politician assuming such a 'European' role amounts to leaving Poland for a Western political advancement, rather than that of a European representing his country by assuming a role on another governmental plane:

Prime Minister Donald Tusk has decided not to flee from Poland to Brussels... He pointed out, however, that directing the Polish government is the greatest priority and fulfillment for him.

'Being the Polish Prime Minister is a hundred times more important for me than a possible European promotion,' he stated (Fakt, 10 Jun).

Here, the decision of a national leader to place the running of the 'nation' ahead of an EU 'temptation' is positively regarded for his opting to choose national demarcation (Kriesi, 2006; 2008). The EU is considered to be negatively related to integration. Its discourse of common benefits or interests is not taken up, while any evidence of affection to the supranational level is not present. Of course, the popular press should not necessarily be expected to report on such evens with a 'Europe-wide' outlook. Yet, the fact that they do not do so here demonstrates evidence of discourse/identity clash with regard to EU integration. Especially in light of this non-elite press discourse's concurrent tendency to portray policy from Brussels as 'western dictation' (See topic narrative three in Table 1, Chapter 5), it is perhaps unexpected that the possibility of a Polish national leader's assumption of a supranational leadership role would be viewed in this manner. However, again, the fact that this is the case may find its roots in historically developed national myths regarding the historical relation of the country's elites to other western European powers (Skórczewski, 2009).

Nationals in an undeveloped country: 'Who' exhibits continued deviance

More frequently, as has been shown through the preceding two narrative stages (Crisis and Conflict), the conception of continued emigration as an unfortunate necessity was apparent. Within this context, Poles were seen to need to continue to leave the country and be employed in menial or exploitive jobs in order to make ends meet. While this movement was posited as providing an opportunity that would not otherwise be there, the EU was not counted as an enabling factor for this resolution ('Who'), though it is positioned as sometimes standing to forestall positive issue resolution, when mentioned. Instead, it is Poles themselves 'Who' are put

forth as resolving the issue of underdevelopment – however, in a deviant manner through bilateral emigration (Textbox 8).

Textbox 8: Irresolution of deviance causes continued emigration by national in-group

Best solution offered to Poles is emigration, against still-worsening economic situation:

Of course it's wages - that's the main reason for departing on posted jobs. The average salary in our country is 3,700 zł brutto, however 65% of Poles are receiving less money...Krzysztof Ingłot, spokesman for the firm Work Service...adds: "Earnings emigration isn't long-lasting (an ordinary departure is for 3-6 months two times a year.) It can, thereby, meaningfully help with supplementing domestic budgets and help wait out the most difficult months of the crisis" (Fakt, 25 Feb).⁸⁹

Increased emigration makes getting a job abroad continually more difficult:

Physical labor in agriculture can also be difficult [to get] in Western Europe. "An Austrian came to us, who wanted to employ Poles picking fruits and vegetables in his fields. He took each applicant for an individual conversation and tried to exchange some of the most simple sentences in German with them. If somebody wasn't able to, they didn't get the job," recalls Anna Koza from Wrocław's branch of the 'Eures' Network of European Job Offers (Metro, 25 Apr).

Trend of emigration by the national in-group continues:

Just in the past year the number of Poles residing abroad for least a year got larger by up to 100 thousand. What's more the number of Poles grew, who aren't planning a quick return from abroad, our countrymen in Great Britain confirm it (Fakt, 28 Oct).

Thus, the (lack of) resolution, and continued emigration that is resultant from a right of free movement, is considered to be a relatively negative outcome. Movement is narrated as a 'consolation prize' to development. The continued necessity of Poles to emigrate ('Who'), shows that the issue-conflict of economic equality vis a vis the West continues to go unresolved, in

⁸⁹ The spokesman mentioned in this article is from a work placement service. When deciding to migrate, Poles often view these organizations warily, due to a perception of their exploitative character, and prefer to go through personal networks (See: White, 2014, cited in Ch 5). By one possible reading of the spokesman's statement, the 'short duration' of postings can last an entire year.

terms of narrative conclusion, in this press discourse. The implication that the scale of the problem was portrayed as continuing to worsen over time, thus builds into suggestions of moral panic, as the negative resolution-outcome was seen to be coming to pass. The seeming triumph of this threatening eventuality could lead the audience to adopt EU-resistant stances, over what was seen to be a deviantly resolving issue-crisis in the country. Far from the creation of affective solidarity to the level of the single market, this issue narrative of Polish popular press discourse held members of the national in-group as exhibiting a threatening resolution by continuing to emigrate, amid a 'bad' economic situation, with which the EU was vaguely associated.

National actors: 'Who' is responsible for resolution

As can be seen from the above, instead of a patriotic solidarity-creating mutual right, free movement is seen as a symbol of continued deviant underdevelopment according to national identity conceptions present in the Polish popular press. However, it also was contended as being exacerbated by the 'unequal' practices of actors in the West ('*Who*'). As such, movement and integration, in context of development, took on an exploitative character in the examined Polish press discourse. As this exploitation -- including Western demarcation -- looked poised to continue as part of the resolution, Eastern national leaders were '*Who*' were seen to have the power to resolve problems through the re-entrenchment of national demarcation as the proper resolution-stance (Zarycki et. al, 2017). The deviance of the issue-conflict was seen to continue, to the sufferance of the national in-group. Unsurprisingly, given the press that this thesis examines, interests in a right of movement were not discussed. However, this demonstrates that, in accordance with Polish identity conceptions' conflation of the EU with 'Europe' or 'The West'

in terms of 'Where,' resolution was seen to occur normatively, identity stood to influence perception of interests in popular press discourse (Textbox 9):

Textbox 9: National Actors as responsible for outcomes; EU discourse not present

Western actors lead to threatening negative outcome for national in-group:

[The Journalist] "The British Prime Minister stripped away the illusions of those who dream that the poorer countries of the EU catch up to the richer ones at some point. He said directly: Such equality never shall be. And yet, it was with this wish that we entered the EU."

"For Poland the next proof of this will be how difficult the negotiations of the future EU budget will be and how different our visions of a common Europe are. We entered the EU with two equivalent objectives: We open our own market, but at the same time we expect that, thanks to the cohesion funds, we equalize our lag with regard to Western Europe. Cameron is saying today that he only wants an open market, but without a chance of equality for the poorer countries. That deservingly could awaken a lot of unrest and opposition" (Metro, 24 Jan. Institute Expert).

Domestic/regional actors as normatively responsible for providing resolution:

"Enough colonialism," called Viktor Orban in Hungary. It's time that our authorities started to work the same way. The calculations that American Bloomberg most recently showed don't leave any doubts - after 20 years of capitalism, the Polish worker earns as if in the third world (Fakt, 17 Sep).⁹⁰

Thus, it is implied that the continued deviance of Poland's ostensible development level is not merely an accidental unfortunate reality. Instead, the plausible accusation is made that said continued panic-worthy deviance is something intentional on the part of powerful Western members. Support for greater national demarcation is thus suggested on the part of the audience if this deviant 'oppression' is to be resolved. This is the case even if the event-crisis flows from demarcation that is taking place in the West. The statements of EU actors or institutions are not

⁹⁰ One of the main justifications of this article's claim -- that the study in question showed that only Filipinos earn less than Poles -- seems highly unlikely. In 2013, World Bank data showed that Poland's per capita GDP in current USD was over four times that of the Philippines.

counted as relevant. 'Western' powers are seen to worsen the situation of Poland. As this thesis has argued theoretically, resistance is suggested to the readership as a reasonable stance if unending panic-worthy deviance is to be resolved, in a manner held as more positive by national identity conceptions in the future. The discourse identity clash remains active; the EU-level discourse that finds its basis in transactionalist rationales for affection to 'Europe', due to commonality of interest, is not countenanced. Instead, national identity conceptions influenced the extension of solidarity ties causing integration to be perceived negatively in terms of interests, within the Polish popular press discourse.

The in-group as defenders of sovereignty: 'Who' was responsible for solving deviance in UK

Like in Poland, British popular press discourse portrayed 'Who' was responsible for bringing about a normatively positive resolution to threatening extra-national deviance. Free movement was negatively related to integration in the greatest number of articles, after the 'What' (Table 2). This was either because British leaders or publics were addressed in a positive position, through suggestion of the self-evidently positive actions that they should take, or by the sustainment of deviance through the placement of the EU as forestalling the normatively positive resolution to issue-conflict. Said portrayal presents strong support of the argument of this thesis: National identity conceptions influence interest perceptions such that they can suggest stances of moral panic over integration in popular news. As the issues related to mass-immigration, migrant crime and benefits tourism moved toward (ir)resolution, the continued inability or unwillingness of national actors to bring about the apparently desirable outcome was often related plausibly to harmful EU policy. Thus, national identity-based interest perceptions stood to build these issues

into ongoing conflicts worthy of moral panic, amid which not only resistance against, but departure from a vaguely villainous EU was suggested as the proper issue-stance if ongoing deviance is to be brought to conclusion, by the restoration of normalcy through national barrier re-entrenchment (Garland, 2008; Lecheler, Schuck and De Vreese, 2013; Miller and Riechert, 2000). As such, the findings of this case study clearly argue against transactionalist theories of integration in fomenting affective identification with the level of the single market. The EU discourse of common net-benefit is viewed as non-credible in the examined press in terms of 'Who' was responsible for resolving deviance.

The impotence of national leaders in the face of continued deviant integration

The issue narratives in news stories related to immigration figures, migrant crime and benefits tourism were seen to go unresolved. The EU was addressed as an actor. But, it was seen as providing for the continuance or worsening of deviant threat. In contravention of interest-based theories of affective European identity formation, the threats posed by the removal of national barriers are seen to continue to be plausible contentions in this press discourse, merely due to the likely pre-existing biases of this press discourse's audience (Ceron and Memoli, 2015). Resultantly, a positively portrayed national in-group ('Who') was seen to be powerless to forestall the continuance of the negative situation amid this discourse's narrative construction of the current circumstances of integration (Textbox 10):

Textbox 10: 'Who' was portrayed as responsible for issue-narrative irresolution

Stance of national leaders insufficient to resolving threat; national demarcation suggested:

But with time for preparations fast running out, public services urgently need guidance on numbers. If the Mail's suspicion is right, this country simply cannot absorb another influx from Eastern Europe. Instead of hushing up the figures, Mr. Cameron should put regaining control of our borders right at the top of his list of demands from the EU (Daily Mail, 14 Jan).

National leaders unable to bring about 'positive' resolution because of EU:

In the long term, we must wait to see whether the British people will get a renegotiation of the terms on which we belong to the EU, and, if they do, whether the repatriation of control over the welfare state is part of it. Meanwhile, it is farcical that the only way we can restrict the entitlement of Eastern European migrants who have made no contribution to the revenues of this country is to limit what we can do for our own people, many of whom have contributed (Daily Mail, 4 Mar).

National leaders unable to act against worsening threat due to further integration:

The EU edict will leave Britain powerless to prevent a new wave of petty crime run by organised gangs. Until now, an opt-out lets us bar migrants from the two countries [Romania and Bulgaria] who couldn't prove they had a job to go to or fulfilled other strict criteria (The Sun, 31 Dec).

Above, and like in Poland, articles in the examined British press not only pointed to national actors as '*Who*' was responsible for solving deviant threat. They also often included outright suggestions regarding the actions they should take, even in non-opinion pieces.⁹¹ As I have argued would be necessary for potential non-viability of interest-based integrative rationales, these suggestions were not contextualized in terms of national interest in cost and benefit regarding conflictual actions ('*When*' and '*How*') (see Chapter 4). Therefore, identity conceptions clashed with the EU interest-based discourse by making claims regarding what appear to be the plausible stances that should 'objectively' be taken, if a self-evident urgent threat to the national in-group were to be resolved. Again, the point here is not simply to imply that it is somehow surprising that the examined papers report in the way that they do. Rather, the fact that they do so betrays the presence of biases related to national identity conception in influencing perception of interests so as to clash with the EU's rationale of affective European identity

⁹¹ This could be considered somewhat surprising given the need of the press to maintain a perceived objective status in order to maintain credibility within the British media environment (see Chapter 4). However, it may be that pre-existing biases of the readership of this press discourse may allow such claims to not require justification as their national identity conceptions cause such suggestions to appear as non-deviant 'common-sense' (Copland and Copsey, 2017).

creation of common net-benefit. Further, said identity conceptions can suggest moral panic over unresolved issue narratives on the part of the intended readership, by encouraging them to adopt or retain a certain position on an issue.

Panic & the discourse/identity clash: 'Who' was responsible for disintegration

As I have maintained, once viewed through the lens of national identity-based interest conceptions, the EU rationale behind integration is seen to be misrepresented, as intentionally allowing for the perceived threatening issue-narratives to occur. In this press discourse, they are seen to build into a suggestion, not only of resistance to a vague folk-devil-like EU, but of rejection of EU membership, if what was perceived to be the threat of free movement was to be resolved (Textbox 11):

Textbox 11: Irresolution of apparent threats builds into suggestions of panic over EU:

National in-group suggested to support demarcation amid character of perceived integration:

The Tories must not just "fight this in the courts". They must make it absolutely clear that no such rules will be allowed if Britain is to remain in the EU. While IDS stands before foreign judges, David Cameron should stand in Parliament putting "limits on benefits" at the top of his renegotiation list (The Sun, 2 Jun).

National in-group suggested to reject EU discourse amid continued 'threat' of migration:

But if these [immigration control] measures are to be effective, they must also apply to EU immigrants. The EU is the burdensome, federal elephant in the room. It would be unfair to UK citizens and other non-EU immigrants who are paying their way, if tens of thousands of annual EU immigrants were given a free ride. So we must reject the idea of pan-European citizenship. Currently, the UK cannot target measures at other EU citizens because we are all 'citizens of Europe' (Daily Mail, 4 May, opinion piece).

National 'in-group' suggested to support 'Brexit' amid panic over free movement of persons:

MPs said that until Britain left the EU there was no way of stopping large numbers from Romania and Bulgaria coming to the UK in January. Douglas Carswell, Tory MP for Clacton, said: "It's happening – everything the experts said wouldn't happen is happening, and everything the Mail and others said would happen is coming to pass. Until we leave the EU, there is nothing we can do about it" (Daily Mail, 3 Nov).

Little evidence is given to justify what is posed as the stance that should be adopted by members of 'the nation' in terms of interests. Therefore, national identity conceptions remain prime in that they allow this position, and the deviant situation amid which it is occurring (see chapter 6), to be perceived as self-evidently plausible. Members of an ostensibly threatened or aggrieved cohesive nation ('*Who*') are posited as responsible for resolving the apparent situation through adopting EU-resistant stances. Within the examined press discourse, the suggestion of stances of demarcation on the part of the UK in-group, meant that national identity conception stood to not only clash with -- but also to merit open rejection of -- any form of EU rationale of common reasonable net-benefit in the single market (Gifford, 2014; Rovisco, 2010). Obviously, this presents further critique of transactionalist theories of integration, which I have maintained the EU discourse represents. It was stood as something that should be discarded outright by the national in-group, if the normatively 'positive' resolution was to be achieved in the future. Any mention of discussion of interests in integration was itself stood to be worthy of moral panic for its apparent causation of negatively valenced deviance. As such, the popular press narrative framing in the British and Polish cases can be said to provide support for the argument of this dissertation: Exclusive national identity-based interest perceptions, as present in center-to-right wing popular news discourse, can serve to foment resistance to the EU in light of the free movement of persons.

Thus, once viewed through the lens of British national identity-based interest conceptions, as present in England's and Wales's popular press, national actors were put forth as '*Who*' was responsible for bringing about what were portrayed as self-evidently positive stances of barrier re-entrenchment on the level of the nation-state ('*Where*'). While present in this press discourse, the EU maintained a vaguely threatening character, responsible for forestalling issue-

resolution. Integration was -- unsurprisingly given the papers examined -- not pointed to as a possible positive resolution. However, it is what this final stage of the CCR narrative format says about national identity's potential to influence the perception of interests in a mass mediated, national public sphere that remains important. In instances in which stories referred to British national leaders as those in the 'rightful' position to resolve what was seen to be the continuance of panic-worthy moral deviance, the fact that a faceless EU stood to render them unable or unwilling may cause press narrative to call for members of the nation to adopt EU-resistant stances if deviance was to be resolved. From there, this could be built into plausible, identity-based suggestions that any aspect of EU membership, or aspects of its discourse, be rejected outright in the defense of a unified national in-group ('*Who*'). As I have argued, instead of encouraging patriotic affection to the supranational level through the creation of ties of common mutually beneficial interaction, the EU rationale behind the right of free movement clashed with the filter of national identity in this press discourse. This caused the EU to be perceived in that narrative as a vague force behind moral panic-worthy issues, which members of the national in-group were to resist or reject, in order to ameliorate a perceived imminent threat resulting from integration.

The Spaniards, united in Europe: '*Who*' was responsible for solving deviance in Spain

As we have seen, over the Crisis-Conflict-Resolution narrative format, resiliently exclusive national identity conceptions led the discourse of common, reasonable net-benefit in interaction within the single market to not be taken up in the popular press discourses of both the migrant sending and receiving states. Instead, issues related to free movement became embroiled into moral panics suggested through the apparent irresolution, or undesirable resolution of conflict. This was seen to work to the detriment of the national in-group ('*Who*'). It was portrayed as

facing a self-evident threat from outside ('*Where*'). It may be possible to argue that this is not surprising, simply because of the sensationalized manner in which the tabloid-style press reports (Gleissner and De Vreese, 2005). However, this seemed to be much less the case in Spain, the mixed migration country. Unlike in the other two sampled countries, '*Who*' was positioned as being in the normatively positive position for the resolution of negative deviance, and regarded the EU much more often (Table 3). With regard to the interplay between interest and identity, such narration could possibly point to a more interest-based discourse, and thus support for the theories behind the EU transactionalist rationale, the viability of which I have argued against. As alluded to above, examined Spanish articles that related to the free movement of persons addressed integration in a negative manner in a slight majority of cases. The examined popular, national Spanish press discourse did point to European actors as responsible for successfully ameliorating negative deviance. Others valenced the integration process as negative for its possibility to be forestalled by the disintegrative activities of the leaders of other nation-states. However, as I maintain, this should not be taken as evidence of common interests in integration leading to a Europeanization of affective supranational solidarity (Khun, 2015; Recchi, 2015; Risse, 2010; Rosamond, 2012.) Instead of the creation of supranational solidarities through common benefit, this popular press discourse interpreted the integrative actions ('*How*') or decisions of the EU ('*Who*') as having impact for a country, which was still seen to be in need of unification in terms of '*Where*' deviance was occurring. As issues moved toward resolution, national identity conceptions in Spain allowed the EU discourse to be taken up more often. However, the EU transactionalist rationale continued to clash with national(ist) identity-based interest perceptions. The former failed to suggest the creation of new supranational solidarities as a 'proper' resolution stance. Further integration was suggested to be a normatively positive. But,

as I argued may be the case in Chapter 4, only in an instrumental manner according to the interest perceptions of a more contested national identity conception.

The EU as resolving deviance through single market integration

As hinted at above, articles in the Spanish popular press more routinely situated EU-level actors as occupying a normatively acceptable position in order to successfully resolve conflictual issues related to free movement, than occurred in Poland or the UK. These cases positioned supranational-level actors as resolving threatening deviance, after which a common group of 'Europeans' were seen to be better able to derive net-benefit from the single market. With regard to the narrative of difficulty getting work or experience qualifications recognized in other Member States, the normatively positive resolution is seen to be brought about by the EU ('Who'). Integration by the supranational institutions resolves issue-conflict, not only for the national in-group, but also for a common set of Europeans within the space of the single market ('Where'). Given this, it could appear that the EU discourse of common net-benefit in interaction-facilitating integration is seen to be valid, insofar as its creation of solidarity ties. Further, unlike in the other two examined countries, instead of a self-evidently threatening villain, the EU institutions ('Who') were painted as actors with a more sympathetic, responsive face (Textbox 12):

Textbox 12: The EU as an actor working to resolve issue-conflict through integration

The EU is seen to be responsive to the concerns of its citizens:

At least this appears to be the conviction of the European Commission (EC), that during this year and the next it will put on debates and open dialogues...in which those in its highest positions will explain what it means to be a part of the European Union (EU), such as the rights and advantages that are carried with it. But, like in any dialogue that is honored, the commissioners have also promised to listen to the citizens and respond to their concerns regarding the European present and future (20 Minutos, 12 Jun).

The EU institutions work to resolve deviant problem of barriers to movement in single market:

With this [directive], the European Union hopes to contribute to those Europeans that are looking for work to be able to move with greater ease to where they get an offer (20 Minutos, 10 Oct).

Such articles do seem to provide evidence for the viability of a more interest-based integrative rationale within a possibly supranational public sphere. Resolution is seen to be brought about in a positive manner by non-threatening European actors ('*Who*'). As such, it could be argued this narrative framing points against some of the main contentions made in this dissertation: That national identity remains prime in coloring perceived interests. This seems especially true when considered along with the relatively less deviant nature of the EU discourse of reasonable common net-benefit in integration, in terms of the more 'normally' layered supranational environment regarding '*Where*' integration was seen to occur in this press discourse. Instead of tending towards the suggestion of moral panic over integration, this strand of Spanish national popular press narrative could be considered to encourage integrative stances on the part of the non-elite audience. It cannot be denied that the 'language of Europe' was taken up more often in the discourse of Spain's popular press. However, this does not necessarily represent an affective Europeanization of national identity, as argued for by interest-based rationales of integration(see Chapter 3). In contravention to them, other narrative issues' resolution was portrayed as negative in the relevant press discourse, for their representation of the integration process as self-evidently risky for the national in-group.

EU leaders as unable to forestall the continued threat of disintegration

The empirical findings of this thesis have indicated that issue narratives in the Spanish popular press situated disintegrative actions of other national members as leading towards

negative resolution. As has been seen in the other narrative stages in Spain's popular press, what was considered normatively 'bad' in such cases was actually disintegration. However, this causes the interest-based discourse of EU-level actors ('Who') to not be borne out as credible, due to its inability to forestall disintegration. Such narrative was especially apparent with regard to the UK referendum in the examined press discourse (Textbox 13):

Textbox 13: National actors forestall normatively positive resolution

EU leaders view disintegration as negative:

The other leaders of the EU want to avoid changes in the Treaty of Lisbon - which we remember went ahead with much difficulty - such that it could give place to years of grueling negotiations and open a Pandora's box of requests in the matter of competency (La Razón, 11 Jan).

National (British) leaders make future benefit from EU appear non-plausible:

The net result that appears extremely probable, is that in which any attempt at a "new agreement," including the re-gaining of competencies, will make Great Britain's remaining in the EU much more difficult than if it were to hold a referendum now simply about whether to "remain or leave". And so, far from calming anyone down (including the Euroskeptic "Tories"), Cameron's position announces a new era of turbulence and uncertainty for Great Britain and its European partners (La Razón, 29 Jan, opinion piece).

In the above, the position of the European leaders, while positive in a vacuum, is portrayed to be both ineffectual and possibly standing to worsen the position of Spain as a member of Europe.

The EU rationale for solidarity in a single market thus becomes non-credible, as the normatively positive European actors -- even through the taking of 'proper' stances -- are unable to resolve deviance.⁹² It could be maintained that this again points to the more interest-based accounting of integration that I have argued against: The acts of the UK mentioned above, for instance, are not

⁹² With specific regard to the UK referendum it might have been intuitive to suspect that fears over a possible 'Brexit' could be built by the popular press to into a state of moral panic in Spain. However, this did not seem to be the case. This might be because, although the referendum was considered a salient issue, Spanish articles seemed to focus relatively more on Germany or Scandinavia with regard to migration.

in the Spanish or European interest. However, it is precisely because of this that the EU's supranational discourse of solidarity tie creation through mutual benefit in the single market is seen to not be borne out. As also occurred in the conflict narrative stage, it is thus seen to be non-credible. Thus, said rationale cannot be pointed to as having led to Europeanization of Spanish or other national identities through the promulgation of the interest-based discourse. The filter of Spanish national identity conceptions allowed the discourse of EU actors to be taken up; however this did not result in suggestions of affection to the single market within the popular press, due to the seemingly victorious actions of Eurosceptic actors.

Normalization of continued conflict amongst national actors as resolution

The EU discourse of common reasonable net-benefit in movement, although taken up more often within the popular Spanish press, did not result in the construction of common solidarity ties or lead to increased patriotic affection with other members of the single market. As has been mentioned in terms of 'How' issues were seen to occur, Spanish popular press articles placed EU actions meant to enforce common movement rules as self-evidently on the negative side of conflict, if they did not prove in Spain's favor. This indicates the presence of national identity conceptions in influencing or reinforcing the stances that the readership is suggested to take if deviance is to be resolved. In keeping with what I have argued regarding the resilient primacy of those identity conceptions in determining the perception of interests, integration was not viewed as negatively deviant, in instances in which the EU institutions were reported on as providing for a resolution that was seen to be in the unified national interest. Such narrative framing was especially apparent, with regard to the Gibraltar border dispute (Textbox 14):

Textbox 14: Pro-Spanish decisions of EU actors fail to suggest supranational solidarity

<i>EU institutions provide resolution positive to the national in-group:</i>
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The protests arrived before the European Commission, which decided to send an observatory mission to the Gibraltar's border at the beginning of summer to check on the lines about which Gibraltar was complaining, but that afterwards, has widened its scope of activity to the contraband that the Spanish government denounces. (La Razón 3 Sep).

EU institutions rule in Spanish favor; no affective solidarity is created between member states:

It was time that arrogant Gibraltar boss, Fabian Picardo, and Her Gracious Majesty's Government felt the iron. This is what's happened with the decision of the European Commission, which declares that Spain did not infringe on the rules of the European Union, when it introduced controls at the border crossing last summer. This time, and as a consequence of the crisis, provoked by that throwing of 70 concrete blocks into the bay of Algeciras and impeding the activities of Spanish fisherman, the policy executed by Spanish Minister of External Affairs, José Manuel García-Margallo, of not accepting the traditional 'fait accompli' attitude exercised by 'The Rock's' authorities and the United Kingdom has borne fruit (La Razón, 16 Nov, opinion piece).

In the above, the Commission is seen to be a normatively positive, legitimate actor. But, only for its ultimate decisions to adopt a position more favorable to that of the Spanish. However, contrary to the EU's integrative rationale, it does not accord the Gibraltar/UK authorities recognition as legitimately conflicting 'European' actors whose disputes should be resolved in terms of fairness or awareness of both sides. The realm of the public sphere remains confined to the nation-state. National identity conceptions, as present in this press discourse, continue to fail to accord solidarity to non-members of the national group. In the case of the examined press discourse in Spain, the European level was seen to provide resolution. However, this was written of in a purely instrumental manner. Related to what I hypothesized in Chapter 4, Spain's relationship to the single market, in terms of migration, appears to be of little relevance in terms of it being a salient problem that certain actors needed to resolve. Instead, it may be that the more open and layered nature of Spanish national identity allowed the EU to be pointed to, in this press narrative, as a legitimate source of resolution much more than in the other two states (Dempsey, 2015; Igartua and Cheng, 2009). Thus, this cannot be regarded as evidence for the

viability of transactionalist rationales for solidarity creation through common net-interest in free movement.

The EU discourse of supranational solidarity creation through interaction in the wider single market was not taken up by the filter of national identity conceptions in the Spanish popular press. Instead, the EU institutions are portrayed as '*Who*' was responsible for providing a normatively positive outcome for members of the 'righteous' national in-group, against threatening non-Spanish groupings. The activity of the EU is situated, not as playing an intrinsically legitimate mediating role, but as instrumental to the ends of Spain as a unified national actor. Thus, as I argue, the above cannot be taken as partial confirmation of the interest-based theories regarding the creation of patriotic solidarity on the level of the single market (Schimmelfennig, 2015; Matthijias, 2017). On the other hand, the increased permeability of Spanish national-identity to supranational influence allowed the EU discourse to be taken up in Spain's national popular press discourse, in terms of '*Who*' was put forth as responsible for bringing about resolution (Keating, 2000; Quroga, 2014). Yet, the continued primacy of contestable identity caused free movement to be viewed in an instrumental manner, rather than as a solidarity-creating right. Therefore, though sometimes couched in the language of Europe, the perceived interests of the national in-group remained prime. Thus, differently from Poland and UK, the EU was regarded as a side of the story in issue-conflict and -- at times -- as a legitimate actor ('*Who*'), instead of as a uniformly folk devil-style villain that was related to panic-worthy issues. However, as evidenced in its popular press, the EU's supranational discourse appeared to have produced little Europeanization of Spanish identity. Instead, the already extant nature of the national identity in question seems to have made resultant interest

perceptions more open to the narration of free movement in the EU single market in an instrumentally positive -- but not an affective -- manner.

Conclusion

The Resolution, as well as the preceding two empirical chapters have sought to examine how resilient national identity conceptions color interest perceptions regarding the free movement of persons, so as to build deviant crises into threatening conflicts that clash with the EU-level discourse of common net-benefit through interaction in integration. In the above, I have examined the manner in which those national identity conceptions shape the resolution-stances suggested in popular press discourse, so as to possibly build continually conflictual issues into moral panics over free movement. The migrant sending and receiving countries' relationship to the single market for persons, does seem to have influenced the specific issue narratives put forth as negatively deviant, such that they were implied in popular press discourse to warrant panic-related resistance to integration. Yet, instead of attempting to examine concrete interests in movement, historically constructed identity conceptions encouraged the portrayal of the continued irresolution of said issues and the stances to be taken regarding them in a more plausibly threatening manner. As a result, the EU discourse of common net-benefits in interaction continued to clash with national identity-based interest perceptions, such that it was not taken up or was mis-represented. As we have seen above, this occurred either in terms of the spatiality of '*Where*' movement occurred, or the actors that were suggested as responsible for bringing about the resolution ('*Who*'). In the Polish and British popular press the negatively deviant outcome for a defined national in-group was seen to become manifest. Identity conceptions suggested resistance to EU integration or membership, in light of free movement of

persons, as a 'proper' resolution-stance for national audiences to take. Thus, this provides further evidence for my argument in Chapter 3, against the viability of transactionalist or utilitarian rationales of affective solidarity formation; the EU discourse clashed with exclusive national identity in both states.

However, as deviant issues moved toward resolution in Spain, the EU discourse continued to remain present much more often. Yet, this appears to have little to do with the Iberian country's relationship to the single market for persons. When viewed in light of the narrative framing, in terms of crisis and conflict, these findings could be considered to be evidence of transactionalist rationales of European identity formation being borne out. Still, the EU discourse also continued to lack credibility due to the current character of the single market, in the press sources examined in this research. Articles in the Spanish popular press seemed more prone to couch the perceived interests of Spain as a nation in the language of 'Europe'. However, in terms of the discourse/identity clash, this did not evidence any deeper Europeanization of the Spanish identity as could be expected by the those interest-based theories (Recchi, 2015; Clift and Woll, 2012; Rosamond 2014). Instead, as was hypothesized in Chapter 4, the more layered nature of Spanish identity made the relevant press narrative more prone to taking up the EU discourse in the first place, while couching national issues in more European terms. Therefore it is possible to maintain that the EU's discursive rationale clashed with national identity less visibly than in Poland or UK. But, that was due to the character of national identity in the Iberian country. As issues related to the free movement of persons neared (ir)resolution in popular news, the supranational EU discourse clashed with national identity as resistance to integration was fomented as the proper resolution stance, in the states with more exclusive, unified conceptions of national identity. In the final chapter, the contributions of this research to relevant academic

debates, avenues for further research, as well as normative implications of the discourse/identity clash's activation for EU integration will be discussed.

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Eight: Conclusion

Overview of thesis & contributions of the study in light of discourse/identity clash

This thesis has sought to provide an accounting for how resistance to EU integration has increased as the Union's right of free movement of persons grew more visible. Despite material interests, Member State publics increasingly do not perceive benefit from this right, as a part of integration. In what follows, I will provide a brief summary of what each chapter in the dissertation has accomplished. Then, the contributions of this study will be addressed, with an eye to how they relate to various academic debates regarding migration, identity conception and integration. Limitations of the study that require further research will be addressed. After, I point to possible normative implications of the thesis's findings for the future of European integration. As a final coda, other questions raised by this research, which may bear fruit from further investigation are briefly surveyed.

Summary of the thesis and main findings

The introduction of this dissertation sought to place the outset of its research within context of the contemporary state of EU integration and the academic debates regarding it. In so doing, it briefly addressed different modalities within the literature for defining reticence to EU integration. It also provided an overview of the manners in which some have argued for different accountings of public support (or lack thereof) for the EU. Thus, it argued that increased resistance to integration merited further study in light of the increased amount of cross-border

movement in the post-2004 environment. The main aims and contributions of the research were briefly addressed.

The second chapter sought to place the process of EU integration and resistance to it in a broader context. This was accomplished by surveying academic debates and the relevant EU legal documents, in order to more clearly flesh out how the EU has come to define its rationale for integrating the single market for persons. It was argued that this supranational rationale can be defined as a discourse of common, reasonably expectable, net-benefit in integration; one supported by more transactionalist theories of market making. Later, this section argued that relatively low amounts of visible integration saw to it that the clash between this interest-based discourse and national identity remained non-evident largely until after the 2004 expansion. Significantly, this chapter also noted that recent resistance to integration was not due to the non-veracity of the EU discourse. Finally, debates related to the creation of a European public sphere and politicization of EU issues were addressed. In spite of the continued absence of a common EU-wide space for discussion, the reasons behind the increasingly critical nature of public and media perceptions of EU migration remained a valid question in the literature.

The third chapter's purpose was to further flesh out the theoretical and analytical underpinnings of the research project. It began by conceptualizing the EU discourse in its most current form: A rationale for the creation of an affective identity on the level of the single market, based on common interests in integration through movement. This rationale is reflected in more utilitarian or interest-based academic theories of integration. However, it then continued to further set out the terms of how national identities clash with this interest-based discourse. I argued that, non-mobile, non-elites are more likely to perceive net-loss from integration and, thus, to opt for national demarcation through resistance to the EU. Combining the literatures on

identity construction and moral panic theory in a way that had not been done previously, I maintained that the news media play a role in both evidencing and reinforcing the national identity-based interest perceptions of Member State non-elite publics, so as to foment resistance to the Union, by suggesting stances of moral panic over integration to their audiences through valenced narrative framing. Finally, the narrative frameworks through which this may be accomplished were introduced -- the five W's and an H, as well as CCR.

Chapter 4 was concerned with explaining how these narrative news formats could best be used in order to back out how identity conceptions may relate with solidarity ties and interest perceptions in non-mobile discourses. Selection of the three case study countries was justified, not only through their relation to the free movement of persons. But also due to their differing governmental and ethnic landscapes. Further, I isolated the relevant public discourse in which the most exclusive nature of national identity conception would likely be apparent. The manner in which the five W's and one H and CCR would be used in order to show how the press narrates issues, so as to possibly suggest panic-oriented resistance to integration, was explained. The point here, and therefore of the following empirical chapters, was not merely to show that the popular press narrates issues in a certain way. Rather it was to back out what those narratives say about the thesis's theoretical argument regarding the interaction between identity conception, interest perception and resistance to the EU. An initial overview of the findings confirmed that identity clashed with the EU-level discourse over the course of the overall press narratives. Though, in different ways and to different extents across the three countries.

Chapter 5 was devoted to the Crisis stage of the CCR narrative format. This first stage dealt mainly with '*What*' topics made the news and '*Why*' they were news in terms of relevance to their intended audiences. In terms of '*What*' was news, topic narratives created for Poland and

UK were indicative of a more national identity-based popular press discourse over the CCR format. However, in possible contravention of the thesis's theoretical argument, evidence was less pronounced for this in Spain. In the latter part of the chapter, I examined '*Why*' specific events related to free movement -- as a part of issues that transcend the topic narratives -- were justified as being possibly threatening in news content. Once this more textual dimension was taken into account, it again became apparent that the Spanish popular discourse remained relatively more open to the EU rationale, in terms of the issues that were perceived of as an ongoing, relevant Crisis.

The '*Conflict*' chapter focused on the manner in which the press narratives defined their sides. As such, it was empirically concerned with '*When*' events were contextualized as occurring and '*How*' ongoing crisis was promulgated over the course of a given issue, in terms of positive or negative actions. Findings from the examined press discourse in both the migrant sending and receiving states again provided support for the primacy of national identity conceptions in influencing the construction of movement-related issues as plausibly occurring with relation to continually worsening national economic and social situation.

Further -- especially in the UK -- the manner in which the EU's actions were seen be self-evidently worsening the national in group's situation, indicated that identity-based news narrative placed the Union and its transactionalist discourse on the negative side of the conflict. It played the role of a 'folk devil' style villain. Spain remained the outlier. Stories from that country were more likely to relate to EU integration positively. However, as I argued, it became apparent at this stage in the press narrative that the self-evident manner in which the deviant actions of other member states were often portrayed, indicated that the EU discourse of solidarity creation through common-benefit actually continued to clash with Spanish identity. As would not be

expected by interest-based theories of European identity formation, integration was not seen to lead to affective Europeanization of national identity. The examined Spanish discourse was relatively more accepting of the EU's actions. However, those of other Member States were seen to be self evidently on the threatening side of the conflict, rather than debated in a more cost-benefit style manner. The concerns of other Member States were not given equal-recognition with those of the national 'in-group.' This provided further support against more interest-based accountings of integration that have existed in the literature.

The final empirical chapter, Resolution, dealt with how issues were seen to be solved (or not) in the relevant press. Across Poland and UK, stories situated ongoing conflictual issues related to free movement as normatively occurring in a Europe of nation states, with little discussion of reasonable net-benefit in this being the case ('*Where*'). Additionally, national actors -- and publics -- were posited as the ones responsible for taking demarcation-oriented action, in order to bring about non-extant 'positive' issue Resolution ('*Why*'). The non-evidenced manner in which this occurred in the analyzed press content provided further support for existence of a clash between the EU interest-based discourse and the primacy of national identity conceptions. In Spain, it was argued that the increased permeability of nested Spanish identity allowed for the EU to be viewed in a more receptive manner. However, this occurred only when integration had gross-positive outcomes for the national in-group. Its discourse was seen to be undermined by the deviant actions of other national groupings. Overall, the calls to action suggested on the part of national leaders seemed to indicate that the narrative nature of news can be conducive to the suggestion of moral panic in the shaping of issues such as free movement. Such instances do not fit easily within the boundaries of the solidarity ties accorded by national identity conceptions. Not only does this argue for a necessity to regard news framing as encompassing a more

narrative, episodic element. It also suggests that, depending on the permeability of national identity, its conceptions cause the EU's rationale, and the theories reflected in it, not to be an effective discursive strategy when it comes to justifying integration to non-mobile citizens on the center-to-right of the political aisle.

Theoretical and empirical contributions to the academic debate

On the ideational level, this thesis has posited that resistance to EU integration can be conceptualized as occurring through activation of a clash between a supranational discourse of solidarity creation through common net-interest in the single market. On its other side, I have argued that resilient national identities can stand to reject, or not countenance that rationale. As we have seen, this theoretical construct situates itself within a related debate on European identity formation in the academic literature. On one hand, some have argued that the presence of real common interests may lead to the creation of solidarity ties and thus an affective supranational identity (Clift and Woll, 2012; Moravcsik and Vachudova, 2003; Rosamond, 2012). However, the results of this study largely provide further evidence to the contrary. In addition to further reinforcing critiques of transactionalist theories of integration, this research has also gone further in arguing that -- in light of the clash's activation -- integration has not led to a meaningful Europeanization of identity, through which interests could be discussed with an eye to concern for all citizens of the Union (Medrano, 2003; Eriksen, 2004; Kholi, 2000; Kuhn, 2015; Kuhn and Recchi, 2013).

Further, some have theorized that the increasing pervasiveness of EU integration and movement could give rise to the creation of a common European public sphere, in which such common European debates could take place (Medrano, 2010; Risse, 2010; Trenz and Eder, 2009). Yet, as the empirical research conducted here has borne out, discourses apparent in the

examined press either treated the claims of non-national sources to be of less value, or ignored them completely. Additionally, it has been argued elsewhere that the tendency for national publics to discuss the same 'European' issues concurrently in their own countries could give rise to a European public discourse (Fligstein, Polyakova and Sandholtz, 2012; Risse, 2014). This was true for some of the issues discussed, with relation to the free movement of persons, in the examined press. However, great diversity remained in what the various popular discourses perceived as threatening. To the extent that similar issues were discussed, the different discourses perceived of them as relevant and/or threatening according to the different criteria of their various national identities (Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999; DeVreese, 2007). Especially in those media sources where non-elite discourse resides, the results thus indicate that anything resembling a mass-mediated European public sphere is far from extant beyond, perhaps, the level of mobile elites. Instead, and in addition to the structural barriers to the creation of a common public sphere that others have noticed, the persistence of national identity would seem to keep non-in-group perspectives from being included as a legitimate or substantive side in debates about integration in the press this thesis has examined (Nicolaidis, 2007; Schmidt, 2013; Staheli, 2013)

As stated above, this thesis also sought to combine the above literature related to discourse and identity with that on moral panic. Some investigation into the relation between the creation of said panics and the media has been done. However, it has also come under fire for its tendency to label each event on which the media reports as an attempt to create a moral panic within public opinion (Cricher, 2003; McRobbie and Thornton, 1995). Instead, I have maintained, by combining the two literatures it is possible to cull a framework by which national identity conceptions implicit in the narrative framing of news could build certain issues into

panic-worthy, unresolved crises (Choen, 2002; Garland, 2008; Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 2009). Thus, instead of painting the media as a free actor, the mitigating role of identity-based interest perceptions innately influences the valenced manner in which issues in news develop in narrative over the reporting of articles on the subject. (DeVreese, 2010; Schluck and DeVreese, 2006; Iyengar, 1991). Thereby, they can imply the 'proper' stance that the reader should take if negatively threatening deviance is to be resolved (Watson, 2009). Indeed, given the self-evidenced manner in which the EU, its discourse or other Member State groupings were often portrayed, the examined popular press provides some evidence in the direction that there may a innate connection between identity conception, news reportage and fomentation of resistance to integration. Mere correlation, however, does not equal causation.

In addition to empirically providing further support for the above contentions, this research has provided data regarding an aspect of national media discourse that remains relatively underexamined (Dalen, DeVreese and Albek, 2011; Koopmans, 2004). First, it has presented investigation into the Polish case; one which has often not been included in most major media studies. Also, by focusing on the press discourse targeted to those whose identities are relatively less likely to be open to extra-national influences, it has provided a different picture than has usually been garnered by previous studies of quality press. This is a helpful addition, given the large amount of research that is generally done into popular discourses and ideologies (Dunn, 2012; Lacau, 2005; Rohschneider and Whitefield, 2015; Ucen, 2007; Wodak, 2015).

Thus, while popular press discourses in the examined countries display varying levels of support for the EU, there is little within them to suggest the creation of affective identity creation on the level of the single market, as resultant from free movement. Instead, the identity conceptions present in the examined news narrative reflect the deviant manner in which that

movement is perceived by national identity conceptions. In some cases, such discourse may suggest resistance to integration as a common-sense strategy, if the panic-worthy 'threat' caused by 'Europe' is to be resolved. As was especially seen with the Spanish case, the manner in which the discourse/identity clash is in evidence may differ according to national identity landscapes and contexts. However, this research represents a critique to interest based theories of integration, as they may not account properly for the ideational relationship between interests and identity, or the relation of the news media to it within national public spheres.

Normative implications of the study's findings for EU integration

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, what I defined as a supranational discourse of common net-benefit in the single market is borne out -- or at least not disproven -- by considered economic opinion. Despite this, I have argued that the filter provided by national identity conceptions has kept non-elite national publics from perceiving said benefit. At the same time, they regard integration as a plausible threat, causing them to opt for national barrier re-entrenchment.

Within the academe, some have argued that the increased contestation of the EU integration process should actually enhance the democratic legitimacy of the supranational institutions over time (Borzel and Risse, 2009). Yet, from the evidence derived here, the 'constraining dissensus' would seem not to be evidence of a mere increased salience of EU policy making to national, non-elite publics, such that the supranational institutions, or their discourse, become normalized as a part of the debate over time (Hooghe and Marks, 2009). Instead, the fact that they are perceived by national identity as 'deviant,' means that dis-integrative activity, such as occurred with 'Brexit', may be likely to increase as the integration process goes on, despite its beneficial consequences. The resilience of national identity in forming interests therefore carries

stark prescriptive implications for Member States whose electorates choose to start down the road to dis-integration. And, possibly, for the longer-term importance and viability of the EU as a political and economic actor, on an increasingly globalized world stage (Matthijs, 2017).

Further, based on the findings of this research, prospects for the EU to circumvent the disingenuous, or sometimes non-factual, reporting afforded by identity conceptions remain dim. As has been shown in the press discourse examined in this dissertation, EU statements were often considered in news to be either irrelevant, non-credible, or self-evidently threatening themselves. Due to the EU's procedural manner in enacting public relations, it may be possible to argue that the institutions could take a more proactive role in countering these national popular discourses through more rigorously attempting to provide a counter-narrative, highlighting instances where benefit from integration is apparent (Bijsmans and Altides, 2007). However, with the possible exception of the Spanish case, the fact that the EU discourse itself was not countenanced as reasonable or relevant in the first instance means that such attempts would be unlikely to meet with success. In fact, attempts to more actively counter claims made in popular discourses by increasing the visibility of promoting integration on the part of the Union would be likely to be considered as threatening. Within the narratives of popular discourse, such attempts would carry the tendency to portray the national in-group in a negative light. This could serve to further intensify the discourse/identity clash, rather than ameliorate it.

Forces and pressures of globalization mean that incentives for and interests for regionalization remain high (Fligstein, Polyakova, and Sandholtz, 2012). However, this thesis has indicated that the activation of the discourse/identity clash stands to place the supranational integration process under constraints. Yet it also binds the EU in a conundrum. One in which interests and national sentiments become progressively more and more out of sync. This may

sound a cautionary note for the future of the integration process: As long as national identity conceptions remain prime, there may be little prospect for bringing those perceptions, and interests, closer into line; national non-elite publics opt for demarcation, in spite of the consequences.

The need for further research

The above may seem rather pessimistic in a normative sense. However, this study set out to probe into how the free movement of persons serves as a source of support for resistance to the EU. In order to do so it has elaborated both ideational and analytical frameworks by which, it is argued, this contemporary phenomena can be understood and examined. It has indicated that, especially amongst un-mobile, non-elite groups, exclusively resilient national identity conceptions color the perception of interests such that said groups are likely to opt for state-level demarcation of barriers to access for non-members of the national grouping (Christiansen et. al., 1999; Kriesi et. al., 2006; 2008; Marcussen et.al, 1999). As these identity conceptions are taken up in the mass-mediated, conflict-oriented narrative of popular press discourse, the EU's rationale of common net-benefit in single market integration remains un-countenanced as trust, or equal recognition, is not accorded to individuals beyond the nation-state, such that they are seen to pose a 'self-evident' threat (Ettman et. al. 2013; Nicolaidis 2007). This stands to explain much about the modalities of fomentation of resistance to EU integration, in light of intra-Union migration. Empirically, it has provided a more in-depth, thick analysis of low-quality press discourse in three rather different cases of EU Member States. However, these findings indicate the need for further research in order to expand and deepen their explanatory and descriptive power. Non-exhaustively, I divide these into three main areas:

Obviously, this has been an empirical study conducted across a relatively small portion of a Union that has more than two dozen members. Thus, one may be hesitant in attempting to generalize the findings. This is especially true given that this research has hinted that the nature of national identities, across different states, may stand to influence how integration is perceived. As a result, further research is needed with an eye to contextualizing the discourse/identity clash with regard to debates on migration and integration in other Member countries.

Additionally, this thesis has argued that identity conceptions can be taken up in news discourse, in terms of what is reported and how it is framed as narrative. Through this process, it maintains that national identity conceptions could stand to reinforce Member State publics' perceptions of 'normalcy' (Altheide, 2002; Bauman 2002). Via collection and categorization of articles, it has shown how issues that touch on free movement are shaped in terms of plausible, threatening deviance from the normalcy of state-based barrier entrenchment, rather than in terms of investigation into interests or consequences. It is clear that instances of resistance to EU integration have been on the rise recently. However, correlation does not equal direct causation. This research has hinted at the fact that an interesting relationship between interests and identity may be at play within the examined press discourse. Despite the difficulties involved in doing so, which I addressed in Chapters 3 and 4, it may still be beneficial to investigate further into how these identity-based press discourses actually influence the perceptions of their readership, or cause them to take panic-motivated action. This would allow for this relationship between interests and identity to become further unpacked. It would also provide a more concrete connection between the dependent (EU resistance) and independent (identity conception) variables.

Further -- and perhaps most interesting -- it is apparent that the EU, or migration within it, does not exist in a vacuum. However, going forward, it may be rewarding to go deeper into theorizing how the popular discourses I addressed in this thesis make reference to 'Europe,' as a justification for calls of barrier retrenchment in relation to the EU's exterior (Reungoat 2015; Yilmaz 2012). Common national identities have been constructed from smaller ethnic groupings in the past. Research has shown that common recognition can be achieved when pulling together against a common threat, or the pursuit of a common goal (Mandler 2006; Maybin et al. 2014; Medrano 2001; Volcic 2005). The EU has been largely unsuccessful in creating an affective identity on the supranational level (Fligstein 2009; Kuhn 2012). Still, through the creation of a common space of free movement, it has fashioned another level on which national groups *could* call for demarcation; an 'in-group' of Europeans is held to be under threat by a group of 'others' from its outside (Enyendi 2016; Liang 2007; Wodak 2015). The research in this thesis has focused on calls for demarcation at the level of the nation-state. It does not explain why the examined popular discourses that tend towards anti-integrative discourse, in context of intra-EU migration, may address calls for demarcation to the supranational level, when discussing the 'threat' of migration to the EU (Lahdesmaki 2016; Pajnik 2016; Ucen 2007).

As argued in the state of the art chapter, the EU rationale behind calls for affection with the supranational level have largely been justified through its provision of common benefit. As was argued in the following sections of this dissertation, this -- by itself -- may be insufficient to overcoming the identity-based interest perceptions held by national, non-mobile publics (Kuhn 2015; Kuhn and Recchi 2013). Instead, calls for European solidarity within identity-based discourses may originate from the perception of a threat to Europe as an exclusively common space for 'the Europeans' (Cohen 2002; Wodak and Boukala 2015). Alternatively, these

discourses may merely appeal to 'Europe' as a justification for policy, or attempt to conflate both types of migration by calling for demarcation on both levels. National identity remains prime. But, more receptive to supranational (if not EU) stances; common threat is seen to be amplified in terms of movement (Garland 2008; Marino 2014). Especially in light of recent developments, such as the 2015 migrant crisis and immigration to some CEE states from the former Soviet Union and the western Balkans, it may be fruitful to examine linkages between national identity, discourse and migration to the EU. In doing so, it may be possible to define ways in which the discursive creation of Europe as a single space under threat may alter popular discourses vis a vis 'extra' versus 'intra' EU migration -- and, lead to either the creation of incipient affection with Europe or serve to reinforce the normative goodness of national barrier demarcation in terms of resiliently exclusive national identity.

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Appendix:

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